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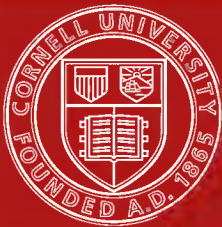
**THE GIFT OF
JAMES MORGAN HART
PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH**

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The influence of w- in Old English



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THE
INFLUENCE OF W-
IN OLD ENGLISH
AS SEEN IN THE MIDDLE ENGLISH DIALECTS

BY
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GÖTEBORG:
ERANOS' FÖRLAG

LEIPZIG:
OTTO HARRASSOWITZ

1912

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ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG

PREFACE.

The present work was begun at the end of 1909, during a short course of studies at the University of Vienna. The subject was suggested to me by a remark of Professor LUICK's to the effect that he had felt the want of a work of this kind in preparing his Historical English Grammar.

It was my intention at first — as suggested by Professor LUICK — to investigate also the modern dialect forms, in order to check and further develop the results obtained from the ME forms. But I have had to give up this plan, at any rate for the present. As yet there are only a few works dealing with the historical development of individual modern English dialects; and many of the forms here concerned given by EDD and EDGr. are, as far as I can see, impossible to interpret historically without such special investigations for guides. Under these circumstances I have restricted myself for the present to giving modern dialect forms only on one or two occasions where the correspondence of the ME and the modern forms is quite obvious. — To make up for this curtailment of the original plan I have made my ME material so extensive and my account of it so detailed, that the results obtained may, I trust, be regarded as tolerably reliable.

As to the arrangement of my work (for which see further the Introduction), I give in Chapter I the forms of the indi-

vidual texts, with a short account of what is known about the date and the dialect of each text, and an account of such of its orthographical peculiarities as are especially important for the question in hand. In Chapter II, I present a »Discussion of the ME forms«, mainly from the point of view of their connection with corresponding OE forms. Finally in Chapter III follows a »Survey of OE and ME dialect distinctions« in regard to the groups of words here in question.

I take this opportunity of publicly acknowledging my indebtedness to Professor KARL LUICK for the great kindness, personal as well as official, which he showed me during the short time I had the pleasure of attending his lectures at the University of Vienna.

My thanks are also due to my friend Dr G. E. FUHRKEN for his kind assistance in revising the English of the proof-sheets.

Göteborg, February 1912

ARVID GABRIELSON.

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Phonetic Notation.

$\bar{e}$, $\bar{o}$, and $\bar{e}$, $\bar{o}$ denote, respectively, long close e, o, and long open e, o.

$\bar{i}$, $\bar{e}$, etc., and $\check{i}$, $\check{e}$, etc. denote, respectively, long vowels and short vowels; $\check{i}$, $\check{e}$, etc. denote long a n d short vowels.

ε denotes the present English vowel regularly representing OE $\ddot{u}$ and ME $\ddot{u}$.

Otherwise it has not been considered necessary to adopt a strictly phonetic notation. But I have as a rule distinguished the written forms and symbols found in the texts from the spoken forms and sounds (i. e. the pronunciation) they represent, by printing the former in *italics*, the latter in *Roman type*; thus e. g. *war-*, *wor-*, OE *wyr-*, *woer-*, etc. (: written forms) as against *war-*, *wor-*, OE *wyr-*, *wær-*, etc. (: spoken forms). In order to avoid possible mistakes I have also introduced the symbols $\ddot{u}$, $\ddot{o}$ for the ME sounds (: written *u*, and *eo*, *o*) corresponding, respectively, to OE *y* (: written *y*) and OE α (written *oe*).

Abbreviations and Signs.

For abbreviations relating to texts and other works, see below, Explanation of References. — Of other abbreviations used, the following may be mentioned:

Angl. = Anglian.

EKent. = East Kentish.

EMidl. = East Midland.

Fr. = French.

incl. = including, inclusive of.

Kent. = Kentish.

Lat. = Latin.

ME = Middle English.

Merc. = Mercian.

Midl. = Midland.

Nhb = Northumbrian.

O- (: in OAngl., etc.) = Old.

OE = Old English.

OEMerc. = Old East Mercian.

OEScand. = Old East Scandinavian.

OHG = Old High German.

OWMerc. = Old West Mercian.

OWScand. = Old West Scandinavian.

prim. (OE) = primitive (Old English).

r. = rime(s), rimed.

Sc. = Scottish.

Scand. = Scandinavian.

Shb = South-Humbrian.

SW = South-West (cf. § 14, f).

WKent. = West Kentish.

WMidl. = West Midland.

WS = West-Saxon.

/ = »placed before», »followed by».

() = »as opposed to», »as against».

~ = »by the side of» (e. g. *word* ~ *wurd*).

Explanation of References.

A. Texts.

AR = The Ancren Riwe, edited by Morton (: § 164).

Ay. = Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwit, edited by Morris (: § 231).

B = The Bestiary, edited by Morris (: § 87).

BB = Barbour's Bruce, edited by Skeat (: § 20).

BGl. = The Bede Glosses, edited by Sweet (cf. § 15).

Bok. = Osbern Bokenam's Lives of Saints, edited by Horstmann (: § 97).

C = MS. C of the Cura Pastoralis (cf. § 15).

Ch. = Chaucer (cf. § 107).

Chr. = The Saxon Chronicle, Parker MS. (cf. § 15).

Chr. = The Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1132—1154, edited by Thorpe (: § 55).

CM = The Cursor Mundi (MSS. C, E), edited by Morris (: § 37).

DEn. = Gawain Douglas' XIII. Bukes of Eneados, edited by Small (: § 25).

Gaw. = Sir Gawayne and The Greene Knight, edited by Morris (: § 132).

GE = The Genesis and Exodus, edited by Morris (: § 91).

H = MS. H of the Cura Pastoralis (cf. § 15).

KChart. = The Old Kentish Charters, edited by Sweet (cf. § 15).

KGl. = The Old Kentish Glosses, edited by Zupitza (cf. § 15).

- KGr. = The »Katherine Group» (MS. R), edited by Einkenkel & Cockayne (: § 154).
- KH = The Old Kentish Hymn, edited by Kluge (cf. § 15).
- KPs. = The Old Kentish Psalm, edited by Kluge (cf. § 15).
- KS = The »Old Kentish Sermons», edited by Morris (: § 227).
- LCh. = The London Charters, etc. (cf. § 115).
- Li. = The Lindisfarne Gospels (cf. § 15).
- Man. = Robert Manning of Brunne (: § 65 ff.) : the Handlyng Synne (HS), edited by Furnivall, and »þe Story of Englande» (St. E.), edited by Furnivall.
- Myrc = John Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests, re-edited by Furnivall (: § 142).
- NG = The Norfolk Gilds, edited by Toulmin Smith (: § 77).
- NLeg. = The Northern Collection of Legends of Saints, edited by Horstmann (: § 32).
- O = The Orrmulum, edited by R. Holt (: § 59).
- OEH = The »Old English Homilies» (MS. Lambeth 487), edited by Morris (: § 190).
- ON = The Owl and The Nightingale, edited by Gadow (: § 200).
- Or. = King Alfred's Orosius (cf. § 15).
- PM(D) = The Poema Morale, MS. D, edited by Zupitza (: § 223).
- PM(L) = The Poema Morale, MS. L, edited by Morris (: § 150).
- PP = The Promptorium Parvulorum, edited by Way (: § 82).
- Procl. = The Proclamation of Henry III., A. D. 1258 (cf. § 104).
- Prose Ps. = The Earliest Complete Prose Psalter, edited by Bülbring (: § 137).
- Ps. = The Early English Psalter (in Verse), edited by Stevenson (: § 45).
- RGl. = Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle (: § 206).
- Ri. = The Durham Ritual (cf. § 15).

- RRPr. = Richard Rolle de Hampole : *The Pricke of Conscience* (MSS. C, H), edited by Morris (: § 50).
 Ru¹. = The »Rushworth¹» (cf. § 15).
 Ru². = The »Rushworth²» (cf. § 15).
 Sc. Ch. = Scottish Charters A. D. 1385—1440 (cf. § 16).
 Sho. = The Poems of William of Shoreham, edited by Konrath (: § 237).
 Tit. = MS. Cotton Titus D. 18, British Museum (: § 173 ff).
 VPs. = The Vespasian Psalter (cf. § 15).
 VV = The Vices and Virtues, edited by Holthausen (: § 217).
 WFr. = The Worcester Fragment, edited by Phillipps (: § 185).
 Winch. = The Usages of Winchester, edited by Toulmin Smith (: § 213).

B. Other works (: for works relating to the individual texts, see further below, Chapter I).

Anglia = Anglia. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie.

Archiv = Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen.

BJÖRKMAN = E. Björkman : Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English. I, II. Halle a. S. 1900, 1902 (Morsbach Studien VII, XI).

Bo. Btr = Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik. Herausgegeben von Prof. Dr. M. Trautmann.

BÜLBR(ING) El. = K. D. Bülbring : Altenglisches Elementarbuch. I. Lautlehre. Heidelberg 1902.

COOK Glossary = Albert S. Cook : A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels (Lindisfarne Gospels or Durham Book). Halle 1894.

COSIJN (Altwestsächs. Gr.) = P. J. Cosijn : Altwestsächsische Grammatik. I, II. Haag 1883, 1886.

EDD = The English Dialect Dictionary. Edited by Joseph Wright. London 1896—1905.

- EDGr. = The English Dialect Grammar. By J. Wright. Oxford etc. 1905.
- EETS. = The Publications of the Early English Text Society. London 1864 ff.
- EILERS = F. Eilers : Die Dehnung vor Dehnenden Konsonantenverbindungen im Mittelenglischen. Halle a. S. 1907 (Morsbach Studien XXVI).
- E.St. = Englische Studien. Organ für englische Philologie, etc.
- FOLEY = Emily H. Foley: The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to the Gospel of Saint Matthew. Part I. Phonology. New York 1903 (Yale Studies in English XIV).
- GRIMM Glossar = C. Grimm : Glossar zum Vespasian-Psalter und den Hymnen. Heidelberg 1906 (Anglistische Forschungen 18).
- GRM = Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift. Heidelberg 1909 ff.
- HORN Gr. = W. Horn : Historische neuenglische Grammatik I. Strassburg 1908.
- KLUGE Vorgeschichte = F. Kluge : Vorgeschichte der altgermanischen Dialekte. Strassburg 1889 (Paul's Grundriss I: V, 2).
- KÖRTING Grundriss = Gustav Körting : Grundriss der Geschichte der englischen Literatur. Fünfte... Auflage. Münster i. W. 1910.
- LINDELÖF Glossar = U. Lindelöf : Glossar zur altnordhumbrischen Evangelienübersetzung (die sogenannte Rushworth²). Helsingfors 1897 (Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicæ, Tom. XXII, No. 5).
- LINDELÖF Wörterbuch = U. Lindelöf : Wörterbuch zur Interlinearglosse des Rituale Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis. Bonn 1901 (Bo. Btr IX).

- LUHMANN = A. Luhmann : Die Überlieferung von *Lazamon's Brut*, etc. Halle a. S. 1905 (Morsbach Studien XXII).
- LUICK St. = K. Luick : Studien zur englischen Lautgeschichte. Wien etc. 1903. (Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie XVII).
- LUICK U. = K. Luick : Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte. Strassburg 1896.
- MAŘIK = J. Mařík: *w*-Schwund im Mittel- und Frühneuenglischen. Wien etc. 1910 (Wiener Beiträge zur englischen Philologie XXXIII).
- MÄTZNER Sprachproben = Ed. Mätzner : Altenglische Sprachproben nebst einem Wörterbuche. Berlin 1867 ff.
- MORSB(ACH) Gr. = L. Morsbach : Mittelenglische Grammatik I. Halle a. S. 1896.
- MORSB(ACH) Schriftsprache = L. Morsbach: Über den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache. Heilbronn 1888.
- MORSBACH Studien = Studien zur englischen Philologie. Herausgegeben von Lorenz Morsbach.
- MURRAY Dialect = James A. H. Murray : The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland. London 1873 (Transactions of the Philological Society 1870—1872.)
- MUTSCHMANN = H. Mutschmann : A Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect. Bonn 1909 (Bonner Studien zur englischen Philologie I).
- NED = A New English Dictionary, etc. Edited by James A. H. Murray. Oxford 1884 ff.
- NOREEN Altisl. Gr. = A. Noreen : Altisländische und altnordwegische Grammatik. Dritte . . . Auflage. Halle 1903.
- NOREEN Altschwed. Gr. = A. Noreen: Altschwedische Grammatik. Halle 1904.
- NOREEN Urg. Lautl. = A. Noreen: Abriss der urgermanischen Lautlehre. Strassburg 1894.
- PBB. = H. Paul & W. Braune : Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litteratur.

- QF = Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker.
- REIMANN = Max Reimann: Die Sprache der mitttelenglischen Evangelien (Codd. Royal 1 A 14 und Hatton 38). Berlin 1883.
- SCHULTE Glossar = E. Schulte: Glossar zu Farmans Anteil an der Rushworth-Glosse (Rushworth 1). Bonn 1904.
- SIEVERS Gr. = E. Sievers: Angelsächsische Grammatik. Dritte Auflage. Halle 1898.
- SKEAT Et. Dicc. = W. W. Skeat: An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language. Fourth Edition. Oxford 1910.
- SKEAT The Holy Gospels, etc. = W. W. Skeat: The Holy Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, Northumbrian, and Old Mercian Versions. . . Cambridge 1871—1887.
- STRATM.-BRADLEY = A Middle English Dictionary. . . by F. H. Stratmann. A New Edition . . . by Henry Bradley. Oxford 1891.
- SWEET Dict. = H. Sweet: The Student's Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon. Oxford 1895.
- SWEET HES = H. Sweet: A History of English Sounds. Oxford 1888.
- SWEET OET = The Oldest English Texts. Edited by H. Sweet. London 1885 (EETS., Original Series 83).
- ZfdA = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur.

INTRODUCTION.

The active influence of w on a following diphthong or single vowel in OE is of three kinds (cf. BÜLBRING El. §§ 261-283): A. w + i > y (after the negative *ne, ni*¹⁾; B. wīu, wēo, wēa (< wē), wēor, wīer, > wū, wō, wā & wæ, wūr, wūr, respectively (in different dialects and under different conditions); C. wī, wē, wūr, wōr, > wȳ, wæ (: in Nhb), wūr²⁾ (: in WS), wūr (: in WS), respectively. — In such forms as *wæs* imp., *hwælc* pron., mentioned by BÜLBRING (El. §§ 92 Anm. 1, 168 Anm. 2) in this connection, I do not consider the -æ- as due to the influence of w (cf. Anglia, Beiblatt XXI, p. 208 ff.³⁾); and the -oe- in *cwoeð* pt., *hwoeðre* (cf. SIEVERS Gr. § 156,1) I regard with BÜLBRING (Anglia Beiblatt X, p. 368 ff.) as developed from ē, not from æ.

It is the representation in the ME dialects of this active OE w-influence, as classified by BÜLBRING El. §§

¹⁾ I disregard other possible cases of y < wī : cf. the isolated *cyð* 3 sg. pres. ind. (= *cwið*) VPs. 67/23.

²⁾ This change of wȳ > wū seems to have taken place, in the (late) OWS dialect, not only / r + cons. (as stated by BÜLBR. El. § 280) but also / r + vowel : cf. the forms *swuran* «neck», *þwure*, -u in MS. Cp of the OWS Gospels (~ *swyran*, *þwyre*; cf. below § 266, and § 265 foot-note).

³⁾ The ME texts I have investigated do not present any forms pointing to an OE wæ < wē. For the *wa*-form of *welēwen* v. «withere» in DEN. and CM (C), see §§ 29, 42; for the isolated *wache* «which» in NG and *swalowe* v. in Ch., see § 80 and § 113 respectively.

261-283, that is the subject of the present work. I have not included the passive influence of *w* in prim. OE *wǣr* + cons. (cf. BÜLBRING *El.* § 132 c), which besides being very sporadic in OE is in most cases not to be traced in ME, where both OE *-ǣar-* and OE *-ǣr-* generally appear as *-ar-*.

- 3 I have recorded in the following not only those ME forms which derive from OE *w*-modified forms of this kind (e. g. ME *sword*), but also such ME forms as derive from OE non-modified variants of the same words (e. g. ME *swerd*); the latter forms constituting of course the necessary back-ground to the former ones. Further, as this *w*-influence appears with great irregularity in the OE texts, presenting many unexplained differences not only as between the different dialects but also as between phonetically analogous words within one and the same dialect, I have considered it necessary to record not only the ME words of which OE *w*-modified forms are actually known, but (with the exceptions stated below, §§ 8, 10, 12, 13) all ME forms of OE words that could be liable, in one dialect or the other, to a *w*-influence such as is referred to above, §§ 1, 2. I have also included in my material some ME words not actually found in OE, even (for the sake of comparison) a few that do not seem to be native words, but are probably loans from Old Scandinavian (cf. B 1, 2, 4, below) and from Old French (: *werre* etc. »war»; cf. C 2, below).
- 4 I have divided my material into three classes, A, B, C, mainly in accordance with BÜLBRING's three groups as referred to above, § 1. However, in order to ensure a uniform arrangement of the different ME dialect forms I have made my class B include all ME words which in OE, in any dialect, fulfilled the conditions that in one dialect or the other were the starting-point of a *w*-influence of the kind

treated in BÜLBRING's group B (i. e. $w + \text{diphthong} > w + \text{monophthong}$). Consequently my class C contains only words whose vowel was in no OE dialect liable to a diphthongization that might be the basis of a w -influence of this kind.

This classification is evidently based on prim. OE conditions, and consequently my classes A, B, C may be defined as follows:

A. Prim. OE $ne + w\check{i} > n\check{y}$.

B. Prim. OE $w + \text{vowel liable to breaking or u/o-umlaut}$ (i. e. as far as the results of breaking and u/o-umlaut could be the basis of a w -influence such as is treated in BÜLBRING's group B, cf. above § 1).

C. Prim. OE $w + \text{vowel not liable}$ (in any dialect) to breaking or u/o-umlaut (i. e. as far as the vowel is susceptible of a w -influence of the kind belonging to BÜLBRING's group C, cf. above § 1).

Class A only consists in OE of the verbs *witan*, *willan*; 5 other verbs with $w\check{i}$ - show no contraction with *ne*, *ni*. The ME conditions are quite the same, as far as my material goes; so I have not considered it necessary to record ME cases of non-contracted forms of $ne + \text{verbs with } w\check{i}$.

In class B we get the following sub-division: 6

I. Prim. OE $w\check{i} / h^1$): *wiht* s. »wight», *wiht* s. »weight», *Wiht* n. pr. »Isle of Wight», *Wihtleg* n. pr., *bitwihe* (: in OE with $\bar{i}$ and $\check{i} < \bar{i}$; cf. BÜLBRING El. § 454), *betwix*, -*xt*, etc.²), *fulluht* s.; cf. the probably Scand. *wiht* adj. (: § 255).

¹) I have found no ME forms derived from prim. OE $w\check{e} / h$ (cf. BÜLBR. El. §§ 133, 146 b): for the ME *e*-forms of *betwix*, *wiht* s. »weight», see § 256.

²) ME forms of this word belong here only as far as they derive from OE $-weo-$ and $-(w)u-$ forms (: with the vowel of *betwih* etc., cf. BÜLBR. El. § 520); but not such ME forms (: with $-wi-$, $-wy-$) as derive from OE *betwix*, which has $-i\check{x} < *-isc$ (: BÜLBR. El. 1. c.). For the sake of comparison I have however recorded also ME $-wi-$ & $-wy-$ forms of the word.

I have disregarded such forms as ME *betwen*, *hwel* s. »wheel», etc. (with -h- dropped in pre-literary OE), because the OE diphthong in these words was invariably long and consequently not liable to a monophthongization through w-.

- 7 2. Prim. OE *wīr* + cons.: (?) 3 sg. pres. ind. of *wurðen* v. (: Kent. -e-form; cf. below B 4), *wurðe* adj. »worth» (: Kent. -e-form; cf. below B 4), *wurðschipe* s. & v. (: Northern & Midl. -i- & -y-form; cf. below B 4); *wurs* comp., *wursien* v. [cf. the Scand. *werre* comp. & v.], *wurst* sup., *wurte* s. »ciromellum»; further *swire* s. »neck» (§ 266; cf. also below B 4, *sweore*). Cf. the probably Scand. *hwirl*, -en s. & v., *sqwirtel* s., and (?) *swirl* s. & v.

Here should also belong ME forms derived from OMerc. *wircan* v. »work» (: BÜLBR. El. § 262 Anm.); further perhaps, ME forms deriving from OKent. *wercan*, though this latter form may be derived with equal right from prim. OE *wūr* + i-umlaut (: BÜLBR. El. § 263 Anm. 1). For practical reasons I have however given not only the Kent. but also the Midl. forms of *wurchen* v. under group C 3 (cf. below), where the Northern and the Southern forms of the word belong; especially since the Midl. (*wir*- & *wyr*-)forms do not allow of a decision as to how far they really derive from OMerc. *wīr*- and not from the OMerc. variant *wyr*-, which, though rare in VPs. (: one case, *wyrctun* pl. pt. ~ numerous *wir*-), is the usual form in Ru¹. (: 18 *wyr*- ~ 5 *wir*-).

- 8 3. Prim. OE *w* + *ī* liable to u/o-umlaut: *wude* s., *widewe* s., *cude* s., *suster* s., *sutel* etc. adj. & v., *uten* »let us», **tuwe* »twice», *welk* s., *3e-dwimor* s., *swiper* adj. etc., *swepe* s. »whip, scourge», *hwiðe* s. »breeze», *witen* pl. pt. »went», (-) *wite* s. »one who knows», *witen*¹⁾ v. »know», »guard», *witien*

¹⁾ The common *wi*- (& *wy*-)forms of this frequently occurring word I record consistently only in inf., pl. pres. ind., and pl. imp.; but not (consistently) in sg. imp., pres. opt., pres. p., which forms (practically) exclusively present (regular) *wi*- (& *wy*-) in OE.

v. »keep, guard» (: often not to be distinguished from *witen*); *wike* s. »week», *Wirechestre* n. pr., *swike* s. m., *swike* adj., *swikel* adj., *swiken* pl. pt., *swikien* v., *twi(3)es* adv. »twice», *cwic* etc. adj. & v.

To this group belongs further the pl. form of *twig* s. (OE neutr. a-stem); though this form, as far as I know, has only *-i-* in OE texts (the *-i-* being due in some dialects to phonetic laws, in others to the vowel of the sg. form having been generalized). As far as the form occurs in our ME texts it has constantly (except for the solitary *tuyegges* in Ay., cf. § 232) the same vowel (: *ī*, written *-i-*, *-y-*) as the sg. form; so I have not considered it necessary to record the word in the following.

Here should also be mentioned the ME form *hweonne* »whence» (: with *-eo-* < *heonne* »hence»); cf. § 157.

4. Prim. OE *w ǣ r* + cons. : *wurðen* v., *wurð* s. & adj., 9 etc. [incl. *-wurð* (in place-names), *wordiȝ* s. »prædium», *wursted* s., which could also be counted to C 4 : prim. OE *w ǒ r* - 1)], *sweord* s., *weorpen* v., *cwerne* s., *werwe* s. »horse», *swerven* v., *weorc* s. (& v.), *dwerȝ* s., further (cf. § 313 f.) *sweore* s. »neck» (~ *swire*, B 2, above). — Cf. (?) *hworvel* s. »whorl», and the probably Scand. *cwerkin* v., *þwert* adv., *quert* s. & adj., *werre* comp.

I also give under this heading those forms of 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. of *wurðen* v. and those forms of *wurðe* adj. whose

1) Prim. OE *w ǒ r* - is necessarily presupposed by the (exclusive) OMerc. *wor*-forms [: *worðigna*, *-ignum* pl. »platea» VPs. (3), *worþum*, *-ana* pl. »platea» Ru¹. (2), and probably *tomeworðig* n. pr. in the »Mercian-Kentish» Charter No. 50 in SWEET, OET], and perhaps by *worðig* s. (1 case) in the early OWS MS. H of Cura Pastoralis. On the other hand, prim. OE *w ǣ r* - is presupposed by the form *weorðig* s., found (once) in the early OWS MS. C of Cura Pastoralis and (beside *wir-*, *wier-*, *wyr-*, *wur-*) frequently in late OWS texts (cf. BOSW.-TOLLER). — The (exclusive) form *worð* s. in the ONhb texts (Ri., Li., Ru².) may derive from prim. OE *w ǒ r* - or prim. OE *w ǣ r* -. — I have found no OKent. cases.

(stressed) vowel (written -u-, -o-) may be derived, phonetically, from (the analogical) prim. OE *w e r* + cons. as well as from (the regular) prim. OE *w ĭ r* + cons. (cf. above B 2). Cf. further on this question below § 268 ff.

- 10 5. Prim. OE *w* + ě liable to u/o-umlaut : *weorlð* s., *weored* s., *sweoli* s. »cauma», *welc* s., *weli* adj., *weler* s. »lip», *dweole*, -eð s. (and *bedweolien* v., if a ME or late OE denominative), *swevet* s., *hwezel* s.

Here further belong the pl. forms of *wer* s. »man», *wei* s. »way»; and some present-stem forms of *wezen* »weigh», *weven* »weave», *cwelen* »die», *cweden* »speak» (all with prim. OE ě), perhaps also *dwelien* v. »err» (: prim. OE ě, or ǣ + i-umlaut? Cf. *bedweolien* v.). As however none of these forms show any w-modification in our ME texts, and as besides these forms are especially apt already in OE to adopt the e-vowel of regularly non-modified forms, I have not recorded them in the following, in Chapter I. All cases of interest are however given, and the forms generally discussed, in Chapter II, § 317.

- 11 6. Prim. OE *w* + ǣ / *r* + cons. liable to i-umlaut: *werien* v. »curse», *wernen* v. »refuse», *werden* v. »harm», *werk* s., -en v. »doleo» etc., *hwerfen* v., (?) *wermpē* s. (cf. § 194), and in some cases *cwerne* (cf. § 310).

Here also belongs ME *wermen* v. (~ *warmen*); but since all the ME texts I have investigated only present non-umlauted forms (probably < *warm* adj.), I have not recorded this word in the following.

- 12 Note (to §§ 5-11). I have left out of consideration the scantily exemplified OE diphthongization of prim. OE ĭ, ě through breaking / *ll* and *l* + cons. (: BÜLBR. El. § 135 ff.) and the diphthongization through u/o-umlaut of OE ě < ǣ + i-umlaut (: BÜLBR. El. § 233), as well as (except for *suster* etc. s.) the rare OE cases of u/o-umlaut / double con-

sonants and consonant groups (: BÜLBR. El. § 244 ff.). All words of these kinds I have included with class C.

In class C we get the following sub-division:

13

1. Prim. OE $w\ddot{i}$. My material is exhaustive only in the case of *wil* etc. pres., *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wifman*, - *men* sg. & pl.; in the case of other words I give full lists of such forms only as do not present the regular $\ddot{i}$ -vowel.

2. Prim. OE $w\ddot{e}$, $w\bar{a}$ (> OAngl. and OKent. $w\bar{e}$) $w\ddot{a}$ + i-umlaut. — Cf. also *worsling* »wrestling» in DEn., and the OFr. *werre* etc. s. & v. — My material is exhaustive only as regards forms which show an OE or ME w-influence.

3. Prim. OE $w + \ddot{u} / r$ (+ cons.) liable to i-umlaut: *wurde* s., *andwurden* v., *wurm* s., *wurp* s., *wursum* s., *wurt* s., *wurzen* v., *wurchen* v. (cf. B 2, above), *wurht*, -e s.

4. Prim. OE $w\ddot{o}r$ + cons.: *word* s., *worden* pp., *worpen* pp., *worht(e)* pt. & pp.

The ME texts from which I have collected my material 14 are as follows:

a) Northern (incl. Scottish) texts: I. Scottish Charters (of A. D. 1385-1440), II. Barbour's Bruce, III. Gawain Douglas' XIII. Bukes of Eneados; IV. the Northern Legends of Saints, V. the Cursor Mundi, VI. the Psalter (in verse), VII. R. Rolle's Pricke of Conscience.

b) East Midland texts: I. the Saxon Chronicle (A. D. 1132-1154), II. the Ormulum, III. Rob. Manning of Brunne's Handling Synne, and Story of Englande, IV. the Norfolk Gilds (of A. D. 1389), V. the Promptorium Parvulorum, VI. the Bestiary, VII. the Genesis and Exodus, VIII. Bokenam's Lives of Saints.

c) London texts: I. the Proclamation of Henry III. (A. D. 1258), II. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, III. London Charters etc.

d) West Midland texts: I. Sir Gawayne and the Greene Knight, II. the Prose Psalter, III. Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests.

e) »Saxon-Mercian» texts (cf. § 147 ff.): I. the Poema Morale (MS. L), II. the Katherine Group (MS. R), III. the Ancren Riwe (MORTON's edition), IV. MS. Cotton Titus D. 18.

f) Texts of the Western and Middle South (referred to for short as SW texts in the following): I. the Worcester Fragment, II. the Old English Homilies (Lambeth MS.), III. the Owle and the Nightingale, IV. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, V. the Usages of Winchester.

g) Kentish texts: I. the Vices and Virtues, II. the Poema Morale (MS. D), III. the Old Kentish Sermons, IV. the Ayenbite of Inwyt, V. Shoreham's Poems.

These texts include practically all the earliest specimens known of the language of each ME dialect. The only important exceptions are the two 12th century Kent. MSS. of the Gospels (published by SKEAT: *The Holy Gospels* etc. Cambridge 1871-1887); these I have omitted mainly because they are transcribed, the one directly, the other indirectly, from a late OWS MS. (: cf. SKEAT l. c., Preface to St. Luke), which fact has to a considerable extent influenced the language of these MSS. (cf. REIMANN pp. 6, 8).

15 In many cases it has been found necessary, or else useful, to give a more detailed account of the OE forms than that found in BÜLBRING's *Elementarbuch*. The OE texts — or in most cases, the glossaries etc. of them — to which I have had recourse in such cases are, unless otherwise stated, the following:

ONh b t e x t s : the Durham Ritual (according to U. LINDELÖF, *Wörterbuch*), the Lindisfarne Gospels (according to COOK, *Glossary*), the »Rushworth²» [i. e. the

ONhb gloss to St. Luke and, mainly, to St. Mark and St. John] (according to LINDELÖF, Glossar).

O Merc. texts: the Vespasian Psalter (according to GRIMM, Glossar), the »Rushworth¹» [i. e. the O Merc. gloss to St. Matthew, and partly to St. Mark and St. John] (according to SCHULTE, Glossar).

O W S texts: King ALFRED's Cura Pastoralis (MSS. H & C), King ALFREDS's Orosius (Lauderdale text), and the earliest part (up to A. D. 891) of the Parker MS. of the Saxon Chronicle [all these according to COSIJN, Altwestsächs. Gram.]; MSS. Cp (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) and A (Cambridge Univ. Library) of the West-Saxon Gospels (as edited by SKEAT: The Holy Gospels, etc. Cambridge 1871-1887).

O Kent. texts: Old Kentish Charters [as published by SWEET, OET pp. 427-429 (Nos. 4-8: 7th & 8th centuries), 441-451 (Nos. 33-34: 9th century)]; the Bede Glosses (as published by SWEET op. cit. pp. 179-182); and the specimens of late OKent. language found in MS. Cotton Vesp. D. 6, viz. the Glosses (as published by ZUPITZA, ZfdA XXI, 1 f.; XXXII 223 ff.), the Hymn, and the Paraphrase of the 51st Psalm (both as published in KLUGE's Angelsächs. Lesebuch², 1902, p. 115 ff.).

CHAPTER I.

16 The forms of individual ME texts.

a. Northern (incl. Scottish) texts.

1. Scottish Charters (A. D. 1385-1440).

The material given below has been collected from the Scottish Charters investigated by A. ACKERMANN (: Die Sprache der ältesten schottischen Urkunden. Diss. Göttingen 1897), as enumerated by him op. cit. p. 4 ff.

[The variation *w ~ u ~ v* (for *w*) is as a rule not recorded in the following].

17 A. No cases.

B.

1. *betwix*, -*wyx* 1393 a, 1393 b (2), 1398 b, etc. (14 cases); *betwixt* 1388; - *betwex* 1401, 1419, 1423 c, 1425 c, 1438 b, 1439 a (3), 1440 c.

2. No cases. — For *worth* etc. s. & adj., see B 4.

3. *wode* s. 1388 (2); (?) *Walwod* n. pr. 1437. — *woke* »week» 1428, *woik* 1428, ~ -ow- 1398 b (2). — [*wodwit* 1438 b, if = »widowhood», is no doubt miswritten for *widwot* (cf. *wyde-wood* PP, *wydewod* Bok.)].

wit, *wyte* inf. 1400, 1401(3), 1405(2); *wit*, *wyt* pl. imp. 1412 b, 1416, etc. (13 cases) [*wit*, *wytt* imp. sg., pres. opt. 1420 ab, ac, 1423 b, etc.]. *sister* 1400, 1408 a, 1415(2), 1439 c.

4. Here may be given (cf. § 9) *wor(s)chip* etc. s., -ful etc. adj. 1405(2), 1418 a, 1425 d (2), 1428; *worth*, -y s. & adj. 1387, 1408 a(2), etc. (8) ~ *wrth* s. 1393 a.; *Iedeworth* n. pr. 1425 a (2), 1425 b; (?) *Fylorth* n. pr. 1413 [- *lockerward* n. pr. 1440 c, cf. § 312].

(-) *werk*, -e s. 1387 (9), 1398 b (2), 1399, 1418 a (2); *New Werk* n. pr. 1423a.

5. 6. No cases.

C.

18

1. *woman* sg. 1434 a (2), 1439 c, 1440 d; *women* pl. 1431 bb [~ *wemen* pl. 1406 b: probably with $\bar{e} < \check{i}$ in open syllable, cf. LUICK St. p. 42]. *owtuth* (< *out* + *with*) 1398 a, 1398 b; *enouth* (< *in* + *with*) 1398 b. — Otherwise no w-influence: cf. e. g. *wil(l)* pres., *qw-*, *whilk*, -lc, etc. ~ -y- pron., *swylk*, -lc, *swilk* 1398 a, 1400, 1405, 1439 b ~ *sylk* 1385 ~ *sik*, *sic*, *syk* 1397, etc. (numerous).

2. *twonty* 1424 [~ *twenty*]. — Otherwise no w-influence.

3. No cases. — Cf. *Wrycht* n. pr. 1432.

4. *word*, -e s. 1401, 1439 c.

Note.

19

w $\check{i}$ is very often written *wy* - .

Original OE w $\ddot{u}$ appears as *wu-* in *Wulf* n. pr. 1431 c ~ *Wolf*, -e n. pr. 1425 a, 1448; otherwise only as *wo-*: *wol*, -lys s. 1389(2), 1398; *wonnyn* pp. 1423b, 1424, 1436; *wont* adj. 1388, 1398 a, 1417, 1423 c.

Original OE w $\ddot{o}$ appears only as *wo-*: cf. C 4; further *sworn(e)*, *sworyn* pp. 1398a (4), 1405, etc. — *wald*, -e pt. 1401(3), 1405(2) etc. (14 cases) derives from OE w a - : cf. below § 311.

II. John Barbour: The Bruce.

Edited by W. W. SKEAT: EETS., Extra Series II, 21, 29, 55 (London 1870-1889), mainly from two MSS., viz. the Edinburgh MS., of A. D. 1489 (: mainly Books I-IV, 56; forms taken from this MS. are given in square brackets in the following) and MS. G. 23 in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge, of A. D. 1487 (: mainly Books IV, 57-XX).

The poem was composed about A. D. 1375, by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen. The author was probably a Scotchman born, perhaps even a native of Aberdeen; according to SKEAT, Preface p. XXXV »the guess that he was born at Aberdeen is certainly probable, but rests on no evidence». His language, as it appears in the rimes, belongs to the Northern dialect common in those days to the North of England and the Anglicized parts of Scotland; while the (more than a century later) MSS. printed by SKEAT present a great number of later, distinctly Scottish forms.

[The Cambridge MS. generally uses *v* for initial *w*; I have as a rule disregarded this peculiarity in the following].

21 A. No cases.

B.

1. *betwix* ~ -y- [1/81, 262, 3/109, etc.]; 4/240, 245, 6/211, etc. *wicht* ~ -y- adj. [1/22, 370, etc.]; 4/60, 110, 534 (: *mycht*), etc. — Cf. *oucht*, *owcht* pron. [1/251, etc.]; 6/63, etc.; *nocht* pron. & adv. [1/2, 36, etc.]; 4/110, 118, etc.

For *wecht* s. »weight» 17/693, see § 256.

2. *redis swyr* n. pr. (< OE *swira*?) 17/13.

werst sup. [3/192]. — Cf. the Scand. *wer* comp. [1/269, 3/302 (: *fer*), 4/22]; 9/159; ~ *war* 13/219.

For *worthis* 3 sg. pres. ind. (of OE *weorðan*), *worth* s. & adj., etc., see B 4.

3. *wod(e)*, *-syde*, *woddis* (pl.), *woddy* (adj.) 4/492, 5/561, 6/670, 7/1, 3, 5, etc. (32); *torwode* n. pr. 11/210, 13/551; ~ *woud* s. [2/304]; 7/613.

owk, *-is* »week» 9/359, 14/132, 15/101 (: *tuk* pt.); cf. § 290.

twis, *twyss* »twice» [3/242]; 12/176 (: *vis* s.), 14/323. — *wit*, *wyt* inf., pl. imp. [1/238 (: *it*), 2/2, etc.]; 2/217, 651, 673, etc. *systir*, *sister* [1/51, 557]; 4/487, 9/732, 13/485, 20/41.

4. *worth* inf., pres. opt., *-it* pp. (OE *weorðan*) [1/194, 515, 22 3/322]; 4/194, 244, 7/177, etc. (in the whole text 11 cases); further (or to B 2, cf. § 9) *worthis* 3 sg. pres. ind. 7/174. — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *worschip*, *-e* s. [1/467, 519, 541; etc.]; 5/174, 364, 6/325, etc. (in the whole text 48 cases); *worth*, *-y*, *-ier*, *-iest*, *-ihede*, etc. [1/30, 86, etc. (26 cases)]; 4/91, 144, 161, etc. (numerous); ~ *stalward*, *-rt*, *-rdly* (only form) [1/19, etc. (8)], 4/80, 186, 476, 749, 5/458, etc. (numerous); *Iedworth*, *Gedworth* n. pr. 8/427, 10/344, 504 ~ *Iedward* 16/363 (for these *-wa*-forms, see § 312).

sword 7/591 (: *word* s.) ~ *swerd* etc. [2/139, 363, 3/137, 19/540]; 5/350, 375, 605, 606, etc. (in the whole text 34 cases).

warpit pt. & pp. »threw», »thrown» [3/642]; 11/602 (cf. § 311).

For *ourthwort* adv. 8/172, see § 308.

5. *world* etc. [1/128, 240, 404, 531]; 4/149, 644, 11/134, 144, 19/704.

6. For *war yit* pt. 7/228; and *warn*, *-yt* v., *-yng* s. [2/137]; 4/392, 16/260, 18/332; see below § 331.

C.

23

1. *woman* sg. [1/64, 3/445]; 4/470, 7/535, etc. (in the whole text 8 cases); *women* pl. 5/542, 16/284, 521, 17/820 (~ *wemen* pl. [2/531, 548, 3/518, 734]: with $\bar{e} < \bar{i}$; cf. Luick St. p. 42). *swome* inf. »swim» [3/431] (~ *swymmyng* [3/433]).

Otherwise no *w*-influence: cf. e. g. *will* pres. sg. & pl.

[1/122, 154, etc.]; 4/230, etc.; *quhilk* pron. [1/77]; 9/656, 11/452, 18/225; *swylk*, *swilk* [1/85, 101, etc.]; 7/364 ~ *sic*, *syk* [1/77, 261, etc.]; 4/159, 224, etc.; *wyst*, *wist* pl.; *swyth*, *swith* adv.

2. No w-influence. Cf. e. g. *swelt* pt. »died», *twelf*, *wem* s., *wemmen* etc. v.

3. *wyrk*, *wirk* v. [2/117, 237]; 4/700, 702, 744, etc. (in the whole text 12 cases).

we(i)rd s. [2/329, 3/390]; 4/148, 11/50, 18/46.

4. *word* etc. s. [1/145, 2/78, etc.]; 5/160, 211, 602, etc. (numerous; incl. the rime *worde*: *herfurde* n. pr. 13/671); ~ *wourdis* s. pl. 9/752, 18/515.

worthyn pp. [4/606]; 4/737, 13/285, 19/162. — Cf. *wro(u)cht* pt. & pp. [1/94, 405, etc.]; 5/101, etc.

24 Note.

wī is often written *wy*-.

Original OE *w ũ* appears as *wo*- and (especially /nd) as *wou*:- *volfs* 6/470; *won*-, *-nnen*-, *-nnyn* pp. [2/190], 7/609, 10/193, etc.; *wonmand* pres. p., *-yng* s. [3/1, etc.]; 5/177, etc.; *wone* adj. [3/68 (: *sone* s.)]; 4/246 (: *sone* s.); *wont* adj. [3/582]; 4/263, 10/129; *wonder* etc. s. & v. [1/296, 323, etc. (6)]; 8/451, 10/311, etc. (12); ~ *wount* adj. [1/220]; 5/565, 574, etc. (together 8 cases); *wounder* etc. s. & v. 4/130, 233, 674, etc. (numerous); *wound* etc. s. & v. [2/351, 360, 3/18, 23]; 4/94, 97, etc. (numerous; incl. the rime : *ground* s. 16/166).

Original OE *w ǫ* appears as *wo*- and (rarely) as *wou*:- cf. C 4; further *sworn* pp. [3/96, 135 (: *beform*)]; 7/266. — For *wald* pt. (only form) [1/11, 49, etc.]; 4/95 (: *hald*), 138, etc., cf. § 311.

III. Gawain Douglas : The XIII. Bukes of Eneados 25 (Elphynstoun MS.).

Edited by JOHN SMALL: The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld; voll. II-IV. Edinburgh 1874. — Besides the Elphynstoun MS. (written some time between 1513, in which year the translation was finished, and 1527; cf. SMALL vol. I p. CLXXIII f., LUICK St. p. 104), SMALL's edition also contains (in vol. II, pp. 279-295) a »Comment» written on the margin of MS. C [i. e. the Cambridge MS., executed about 1525 (cf. SMALL vol. I p. CLXXII f.) and printed by GEORGE DUNDAS for the Bannatyne Club, 1839], according to SMALL (vol. I p. 318) very probably in the author's own hand.

Gawain Douglas was a Scotchman; and his language (as it appears in his rimes; cf. H. GEHRKEN: Die Sprache des Bischofs Douglas von Dunkeld. Diss. Strassburg 1898) as well as that of the Elphynstoun MS. have the main characteristics of the Scottish variety of the Northern English dialect.

The present investigation is mainly based on SMALL's vol. II (i. e. Books I-V of the »Eneados», and the »Comment»); the forms and rimes quoted from voll. III & IV (Books VI-XIII) are taken from SMALL's Glossary (in vol. IV) and (in a few cases) from GEHRKEN's dissertation.

[N o t e : e. g. IV 108/5 means vol. IV, page 108, line 5; e. g. 150/10 means page 150, line 10, of vol. II.; e. g. 212 refers to the heading on p. 212 (of vol. II); e. g. C 290 refers to p. 290 of the »Comment» (in vol. II)].

A. No cases.

26

B.

1. *betwix* 4/5, 6, 7, 8, 15/17, etc., C 280, etc.; ~ -y- C 290; *betwixt*, -ui- 18/32, 34/12, 167/2, etc. *wicht*, -y- s. (OE *wiht*) 8/5, 11/27, etc. (numerous; incl. rimes : *mycht*,

slycht, etc.). [Cf. *ocht* pron. e.g. 200/1 (: *thocht*), *nocht* e.g. IV 27/1 (: *docht*)]. *wicht* ~ -y- adj. »brave» 45/11 (: *on hicht*), 59/16 (: *mycht*), etc.

For *wecht*, -y s. & adj. »weight, -y» 25/23, 42/3, (: *hecht* pt.), 57/32, etc., see § 256.

2. *wirs(c)hep*, -ip etc. s. & v. 13/24, 47/23, 53/23, etc. (28); C 290, etc. [~ *wor* -; for this form and *worth* adj., etc., see B 4].

swyre s. »neck» 184/30 (: *fyre* s.), III 55/5 [~ *swair*, see B 4].

quhirle, -is etc. v. 26/32, 29/1, 83/1, 154/14 (: *thirlit* pp.), 259/2; ~ *quherle* III 108/6 (for the -e-, cf. C 2).

swirl s. 154/9; ~ *sworlis* s. pl. III 217/20; *sworling* pres. p. III 156/6.

wers comp. 13/13, 18/28, 30, 127/6, III 42/32. — Cf. the Scand. *war* and *war* comp. III 173/25; *warris* pres. ind. 232/32.
27 3. *wod*, -e, -(d)is, *wody* s. & adj. 19/14, 31/17, etc. (31), C 286, etc., III 29/12.

quik etc. ~ -y- 3/11, 206/2, 269/4, C 290. *twis(e)* ~ -y- »twice» 12/21, 43/9, etc., C 292. — *wit* inf. 42/22 (: *3it*), 267/25 (: *pit* s.). *sister*, -ir etc. s. 23/15, 24/32, etc. (numerous), C 281, etc.

swippir adj. III 28/24 ~ *swepyrly* adv. III 213/8.

wedowheid s. 176/11.

4. *worth* (of OE *weorðan*) pres. opt. (or ind. ?) 116/21, 235/26; further (or to B 2, cf. § 9) *worthis* 3 sg. pres. ind. 172/24. — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *worschep*, -ip s. & v. 146/1, 147/16, 152/2, 195/2 (~ *wir*-, see B 2), *worth*, -y, -ie adj., -yast sup., -iheid s. 7/13, 11/25, 12/5, etc. (32; incl. *wordy* 49/15); ~ *wourthy* 266/17 (< *wor* -; cf. *wourd* C 4) [~ *stalwart* 28/5, 34/20, etc. (8; only form), see § 312].

sword, -is s. 117/4, III 146/11 (: *wordis* s. pl., *gurdis* < Fr. »gourdir»?); ~ *swerd(is)* ~ -ei- 27/21, 51/20, 77/2, etc. (25; incl. the rimes: *erd* s. 27/21, : *verd* s. 217/13); *heding swerd* III 66/4.

work, -is s. 4/29, 9/21, 11/22, 19/6; ~ *werk* etc. s., - *men*, -*lomis* s. pl. 3/10, 4/17, 5/30, etc. (40; incl. the rimes: *merk* s. 149/13, 254/12); ~ *wark* s. 6/8, 165/3, 200/1 (: *bark* s.), C 286, etc.

*werp*s sg. pres. »throws» 252/26; ~ *warþ*, -is, -it v. »throw» etc. 12/6, 26/13, etc. (16). For the *war*-form see § 311. The isolated *wer*-form may possibly represent original *wǣr*, since there are occasional cases of -*er*- < *ǣr* in DĒn. (as well as in BB): *swermand* pres. p. III 100/7, *fordwert* adv. 73/9; *cherge* s., *scherþ* adj., *herme* s., *pert* s., etc. (: cf. MUTSCHMANN § 78 ff.).

quernis s. pl. 32/13.

swair s. »neck» 26/17 (: *euirmair*) [~ *swy*-, see B 2].

For *ourthwort* adv. 267/4, *ourthortour* adv. 243/26 (cf. -*thort* I 13, 4, I 95/23), *thortis* s. pl. »thwarts» 231/27, see § 308.

5. *warld*, -is s. 35/10, 40/21, 47/11, etc. (11); C 279, etc.

6. For *wary* etc. v. III 1/18 (: *miscareit*), 121/29, 135/19, 147/2, 206/28, *warþit* pp. (?) 77/18, and *warn* v. 261/27, (?) *warnour* s. »miser» III 145/18, see § 331.

C.

28

1. *woman* etc. sg. 42/13, 103/3, 145/12, etc., C 280, etc. *women* pl. 115/2 [~ *wemen*, -*enis* pl. 17/21, 97/21, 97/9, 122/7, etc., C 293 : with $\bar{e}$ < *ǣ* ; cf. LUTICK St. p. 42]. *womple* s. »wimple» 28/25 (~ *wympil* etc. 80/26, 85/32, 218/28).

Otherwise no *w*-influence; cf. e. g. *wil*, -*ll* pres. (passim), *quhilk*, -is pron. 3/14, 4/17, etc., *syk*, *sic*, -*ik*, -*ick*; etc. »such» 5/4, 17, 25, etc. (numerous; rimes : *beseik* (OE $\bar{e}$) 11/12); *smith*, -*ly* (passim). — Rimes *wi*:- *we*- such as *wist* pt.: *behest* s. 192/18, and occasional *we*-spellings such as *I wes* 84/22 (: *Achilles*), *twestis* /IV 85/13 (: *nestis*), are due according to GEHRKEN § 12,2 to the open quality of *ǣ*; in any case they have probably nothing to do with the *w*-.

2. *wobbis* s. pl. »webs» III 246/15. *worsling* »wrestling» 29

136/6 (~ *wersill* v. 172/27, 227/18). *wolt* pl. pt. (of *welt* »turn, roll») 45/13 (or an analogical *strong* form?).

Otherwise no *w*-influence; cf. e. g. *swelly* inf. »swallow», -*iaris* s. pl., *swelth* s., 29/2, 33/15, 71/21, etc. (note the rime *swelth* s.: *belth* s. 145/6); *swelland* pres. p. 30/10, etc.; *sweltis* pres. IV 60/25; *quhelpis* s. pl. 89/26; *ourquhelme* etc. v. 24/28, etc. (incl. rimes: *helm*, -*e* s.). — *wall*, -*is* s., -*y* adj. »wave», etc. 29/5, 17 (: *all*), etc. (note the rime: *blawis* pres. 31/16) does not spring from *wě*, but stands for *wawe* < Scand. *vag(h)* (: *ll* is merely orthographic, original -*ll* being no longer pronounced in this dialect).

As to *wallowing*, -*owit* v. »wither» 127/14, III 76/10, III 110/11 (cf. CM, below § 42), the origin of the word is uncertain (it does not appear in OE texts); but if, as seems probable, it is formed by *i*-umlaut of the stem found in OE *w(e)alg* »lukewarm», it may be a continuation of the regular OAngl. -*æ*- (< *a* 1 / cons + *i*-umlaut), or as cases of this kind seem to be very rare in ME, it may perhaps more probably have -*a*- from OE *w(e)alg*.

30 3. *worsum* s. 157/28.

wortis s. pl. IV 85/5 ~ *banwart* s. IV 83/27 (cf. § 363).

workand pres. p. III 242/22; ~ *wirk*, -*is* v. ~ *wyr*- 25/22 (: *dirk* adj.), 82/15 (: *irk* v.), 166/16, 169/4, 173/20, 200/17 (: *irk* v.).

wyrreit pt. »strangled» III 170/22 (cf. *wirryit* pt. I 46/24) ~ *weryit* pp. »worried» IV 71/24 (: for -*e*-, see C 2).

werd, -*is* s. ~ *weird* etc., 23/12, 24/8, 36/14 (: *afferd* pp.), etc. (8); *wanwerd* s. 35/18, III 47/30.

4. *word*, -(i)s s. 4/10, 6/30, 14/13, etc. (about 100; incl. the rime : *bourd* s. (< Fr.) 245/1), C 279, etc.; ~ *wourd*, -*is* ~ *wow*-, 4/3, 7/12, 8/6, 11/28, etc. (18; incl. the rimes: *bourd* s. (< Fr.) 7/12, 82/22). (-) *worthin*, -*yne* pp. 117/5, III 163/21. — Cf. (-) *wrocht* pp. 4/10, 31/6, 23, etc.

Note.

31

wī very often appears as wy-.

Original OE w ū appears as wo-, as *wou-* (especially /nd), and (rarely) as *wu-*: *woll* s., *wollit* pp. 160/5, III 143/6; *wolf*, -is s. 37/9, etc.; *wonn*, -yn v. 243/10, 244/14; *wont* adj. 69/8, 13, etc. (13; incl. the rime: *dont* s. »dint» 247/23); *wonder* etc. s. & v. 31/13, 45/5, etc. (numerous; incl. rimes: *wndir* ~ *ondir*, *hundir*, *thundir*); *worth* pt. opt., pl. pt. ind. 120/17, 262/18, C 291 (or with the vowel of pp. ?); ~ *wount* adj. 201/24; *wounder* etc. s. & v. 49/18, 56/19, etc. (8), III 28/8; *wound* pp. 183/24 (: *ground* pp.); *wound* etc. s. & v. 20/8, 24/17, etc. (13; incl. rimes : -ound); ~ *wunnyn* pp. 244/2 (: *cumin* pp.) [cf. *wult* s. (Lat. *vultus*) 132/8].

Original OE w ō appears as wo- and *wou-* (*wow-*): cf. C 4; further *worn* pp. 76/1 (: *torn* pp.), (-)sworne pp. 16/18 (: *to forne*), 19, 26, etc.; *woven* pp. 149/14. — For *wald* pt. 4/23, 12/27, etc. (only form) [cf. *nald* 11/29], see § 311.

IV. The Northern Collection of Legends of Saints. 32

Edited by C. HORSTMANN: *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (Heilbronn 1881), from the 14th century MS. Harl. 4196 (according to HORSTMANN op. cit. p. LXXVIII »um die Mitte des 14. Jhdts. in schöner, grosser Schrift von nördlichem Typus geschrieben»). Cf. further e.g. RETZLAFF: *Untersuchungen über den... Legendencyklus der MSS. Harleian 4196 u. Cotton Tib. E VII* (Diss. Berlin 1889); HEUSER, E. St. 27,365; LUICK, St. p. 45.

The present investigation only includes pp. 1-99 v. 170 of HORSTMANN's edition, i. e. the work of the first scribe,

who wrote the first 164 leaves of the MS. [A second scribe has executed fol. 165 - fol. 205, and a third fol. 206 - fol. 258. The work of the third scribe includes the parts of the »Pricke of Conscience« printed by MORRIS from MS. Harl. 4196, cf. § 50 ff.].

The quotations given in the following apply to the numbers of the Legends (as numbered by HORSTMANN) and to the verses of each Legend.

33 A. No cases.

B.

1. *bitwix* 14/136, 17/166, 942, 18/159. *no wight* s. 10/151 (cf. *oght* pron. 1/458, etc., *noght* adv. & pron. 1/15, 46, etc.). *wight* adj., *-ly* adv. 2/451, 3/198, etc. (9; incl. the rime: *sight* 16/663).

2. *wirs(c)hips*, *-epe* etc. s. & v. 1/18, 336, 539, etc. (34). — For *wurthy* ~ *worthy* etc., see B 4.

werst sup. 7/309. — Cf. the Scand. *wer(r)* comp. 6/146, 13/216, 16/223, 223 (: *ferr*), 19/50 (: *ferr*).

3. *wud*, *-side* s. 2/444, 4/81 ~ *wod* 7/213. — *wuke* s. 2/13 (: *boke* s.) ~ *woke* 6/332 (: *toke* pt.).

quick adj. 1/185, 194, etc. (6). — *wydow*, *widoy* s. 5/61, 7/98. *wit* inf. 1/52, 316, 6/291, etc. (numerous, incl. the rimes: *pyt* s. 14/88; *flit*, *flyt* 17/728, 994; : *Philis* n. pr. 19/30). *sister(s)* s. 3/211, 5/62, 13/100, 17/3, 88.

34 4. *wurth* pres. opt., *-ed* pt. & pp. (of OE *weorðan*) 4/235, 7/400, 14/127, 312.

Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *wurth* adj. 7/158, 165, *wurthli* adj. 1/260, *stalwurth* 7/528, 16/663, *wurthi*, *-rthy* adj. 1/103, 254, 430, etc. (14); ~ *worthly* adj. 7/99, *worthy* adj. 6/214, 368.

(*hand*)*werk*, *-is*, etc. s. 1/285, 287, 412, 2/2, 24, etc. (37; incl. the rimes : *clerk* etc. 2/2, 221, 7/494, 11/107; : *merk* s.

6/20, 16/504, : *serk* s. 18/80). *thwert* adv. 4/85. — *swerd* 3/200, 4/246. *quert* s. 7/492 (: *gert* pt.).

5. *world*, -es s. 6/251, 7/152; ~ *werld*, -es, -(e)ly 1/2, 367, 437, 443, 2/94, etc. (44). — *wele* s. (or adv.?) 1/198, etc.

6. *weryed* pt. 16/568.

C.

1. *woman* sg. 1/411, 486, 504, etc. (very numerous) [~ *wemen* pl. 5/87, 130, 7/190, 199, 17/4, 347 (with $\bar{e} < \bar{i}$; cf. LUICK St. p. 42); *wymen* pl. 5/71].

Otherwise no w-influence : cf. e. g. *will* pres. sg. & pl. 1/128, 217, 221, etc., *wild* pt. 4/137 (: *fulfild* pp.); *w(h)ilk* pron. 2/91, 6/39, etc.; *swilk* 1/97, 187, etc. (very numerous; incl. the rime: *milk* 2/7. *swlk* 3/18 is evidently miswritten for *swilk*); *wist* pt.

2. No w-influence : cf. e. g. *swelid* pt. »swallowed» 17/401; *welter* v. 17/219; *twelue*.

3. *wurm* etc. s. »worm», »serpent» 7/381, 17/63, 18/257, 261, 273.

wyrk v. 3/203 (: *kirk*) ~ *wirk*, -es v., -ing s. 1/126, 351, 384, 542, etc. (39; incl. several rimes : *kirk* s.). — Cf. *wright* s. 4/13, 147.

4. (*bod*)*wurd*, -e, -es s. 1/36, 47, 84, etc. (81; incl. the rime: *burd* s. »board» 17/405); ~ *word*, -es 1/369, 3/126, 205, 6/40, 177, 471, 7/34, 39, 43, 110, 656, 8/65, 16/66, 17/457. — Cf. *wroght* pt. & pp. 1/18, 165, 297, etc.

Note.

$w\bar{i}$ is often written *wy*-.

Original OE *w ũ* appears as *wu*-, as *wo*- (rarely), and as *wou*- (only 1 nd): *wun* pp. »won» 17/121; *wun* etc. v., -yng s. 1/364, 476, 2/253, etc. (27; incl. 6 rimes: *son*, *sun* »son»), *wunt* adj. 17/84; *wunder* etc. s. & v. 1/512, 515, 2/185, etc. (numerous); ~ *wonand* pres. p. »dwelling» 5/8, *wont* adj. 7/511, *wonder* 3/74, 7/62; ~ *wound* etc. s. & v. 1/406,

408, 10/189, 235 [cf. *swunde* pt. »swooned» 2/204 (: *stounde* s.)].

Original OE *w ǒ* appears as *wu-* and *wo-* : cf. C 4. Here may also belong — if it has not $\bar{o} < \bar{a}$, cf. the rime (: cases of $\bar{o} < \bar{a}$ are very frequent in this MS.) — *wold* pt. 1/15, 16, etc. (usual form; rimed: *tolde* pt. »told» 17/321), cf. *nold* 8/305 [*~ wald* (cf. § 311) 1/52, 214, etc. (numerous; incl. rimes: *hald* inf., *cald* pt., etc. 3/59, 7/10, 76, 8/38, 16/523, 17/767) *~ wuld* 2/233 (: probably $< \bar{o}$ in weak-stress position, through the influence of *w-*; cf. *wumme* § 183, foot-note)].

V. Cursor Mundi.

Edited by R. MORRIS, EETS., Orig. Ser. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, 101 (London 1874-1893) from several MSS., all printed in full. The present investigation includes MS. C (: MS. Cotton Vesp. A. 3, British Museum) vv. 1-24968 (not the »addition», vv. 24969-29547), and MS. E (in the Edinburgh College of Physicians), which latter contains only part of the poem (vv. 18989-23940, as numbered in MORRIS' edition; cf. op. cit. p. 1587 ff.). — Different handwritings are discernible in both MSS.; but the slight differences in the spellings used by the different scribes are of no account in the present case. — Both MSS. are in the Northern dialect. The former (MS. C) — or in any case, its language — belongs to the former half of the 14th century (cf. LUTCK, St. p. 16); as to the latter (MS. E), different opinions have been expressed about its age, but even if it should not be earlier than the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century, its language contains (: cf. LUTCK, St. p. 7) a number

of early characteristics not found in any other ME MS. written in the Northern dialect.

Cf. for other MSS., etc., H. HUPE, *Cursor Mundi* (MORRIS' edition) pp. 57 ff., 109 ff. Cf. also W. HÖRNING: *Die Schreibung der Hs. E. des Cursor Mundi* (Diss. Berlin 1905).

[Insignificant consonant variations such as *v ~ u ~ w*, etc., have not always been recorded in the following].

A.

38

nil (*we wil we*) CE 23728.

B.

1. (*bi-*, *be-*, *by*)*twix*, *-and*, etc. (*~ -y-*) C 65, 117, 612, etc. (numerous), CE 19264, etc. *wight* s. (OE *wiht*) 892 (: *male-dight* pp.), etc., *nawi(g)ht* C 654, 3885, etc., CE 22500 [cf. *noght* pron. & adv. 64 (: *broght* pp.), etc. *~ nagh* pron. C 20462 *~ not* adv. C 90, etc.; *oght* pron. C 474 (: *broght* pp.), etc.]. *wi(g)ht* adj. C 2634, etc., CE 23623 (: *mi(g)ht* s.), etc.

For *weght*, *weiht* s. (OE *gewiht*) C 21429, CE 23564, see § 256.

2. *wirsc(h)ip(pe)*, *-scep*, etc. s. & v. C III, 114, 1937, 2439, etc. (60) [*~ wor-*; see B 4]. — *swire* s. C 17371 (: *fire* s.).

wers comp. C 38, 38, 2743, 7818, 9035, 13411, 21466. *werst* sup. C 4386, 14555, 21450. — Cf. the Scand. *wer*, *-rr*, *-rre*, *were* »worse» C 68 (: *mere* s. »harm»), 11900 (: *terr* s.), 11901, E 21884, 22476; *~ warr*, *-e* C 454, 1057, 4330, 21884, 22476. — For *worþe* 3 sg. pres. ind. (of OE *weorðan*), *worth* s. & adj. etc., see B 4.

3. *cude* s. »cud» C 1958. *wod*, *-e*, *wodd(e)s* s. C 1727, 39 3506, 5734, 6191, 7786, 8456, 8785, CE 22543, 22895.

wok, *-es* s. »week» C 2857, 11012 *~ wyckes* C 18587.

suepes s. pl. (OE *swipe*, *-u*, etc.) C 19355 *~ suaipis* s. pl. E 19355 (cf. § 289).

wet inf. »know» E 22556, 22869 (cf. *wite*: *sete*, below); *weit*

inf. C 1875 (more cases?); ~ *wit(t)*, -e, *wijt*, -s inf., 1 sg. & pl. pres. ind., imp. C (numerous; incl. several rimes: *ī*), *wit(t)*, -e inf., pl. imp. & pres. ind. E 19150, 19779, etc. (incl. the rimes: *site* inf. »sit» 22294, 23057 : *sete* »sit» 22018, which latter form according to LUICK U. § 436 contains a real e-vowel).

qui(c)k etc. adj., *qui(c)ken* etc. v. C e. g. 1471, 3378 (rimed: *ī*), etc. (numerous), CE 19794, 19964, etc. (incl. rimes: *ī*). *tuis* »twice» C 2759, etc., CE 21756, E 20974 (: *prise*). — *widue* etc. s. C 6787, 6793, 8392, 11346, CE 19775, 21053, 24197. *sister*, -ir s. C 1219, 1449, 1523, etc. (30 à 40 cases), CE 21130.

40 4. *worth*, -rþe inf., pres. opt. C 316, 930, 5889 (: *forth*), etc. (11), CE 19110, 21992, 22489 (E -de), etc. (7; incl. *worise* E 23224, probably for *worth ise* »become ice»); *worthid* pp. E 19402; further (or to B 2, cf. § 9) *worþe* 3 sg. pres. ind. E 23828. — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *worsc(h)ip* etc. s. & v. C 8529, CE 23912, E 20021, 22290, etc. (E alone 19 cases; C ~ *wir*-, see B 2), *worth* s. C 12390, (on-) *worth*, -i, -e, -li, etc. (~-rþ-) adj. & adv. C 44, 817, 1148, etc. (36; incl. the rime: *stalworth* 3952), CE 19362, 19584, etc. (11), *der*-, *darworth*, -i, -li adj. & adv. C 4731, 5322, etc. (7), CE 19470, 19973, *stal(l)worth*, -li adj. & adv. C 3951 (: *worth* adj.), 4310, 6496, etc. (12), CE 23756, 24767 (E -rd).

suord, -e, etc. s. C 7769 (: *ord* s.), 7948 (: *word*), 17738 (: *ord*), CE 20990 (: *word*, -e), 21124 (: *word*), 24330 (: C *uord*, E *orde*), E 21710; ~ *suerd*, -e, etc. C 998, 3163, 3172, etc. (29; incl. the rime: *word* 3181), CE 22376.

(-) *werc* etc. s. C 125, 127, 132, 259, etc. (about 75 cases; incl. the rimes : *clerc*, -rk 1921, 8696, 18634, : *merc*, -rck s. 132, 8790, : *serk* s. 21528; the rime *werc* : *derc* C 9899 is probably due to a corruption of an original *were*: *dere*, found in MSS. LT), CE 19158, 19520, etc. (12; incl. the rime : *clerk* 23910), E 23045; probably also (with the vowel of the subst.) *werk* etc. inf., 1 sg. pres. ind., imp. C 14704, 17201, 17214,

21452, 22050 (~ *wir-*, see C 3); ~ (-)warc etc. s. C 112, 252, 1133, 1155, . . . 11786, 12414, 21318 (18). (*ouer*)thuert adj. & adv. C e. g. 7103 (: *stert* pt.), 7926 (: *hert* s.), 10464 (: *hert*), 12084 (: *hert*), etc.; ~ *ouerthwart* C 16578 (cf. § 308).

werp inf., imp. CE 24104, 24247. *quert* s. C e. g. 1803 (: *hert* s.), 15172 (: *hert*), etc., CE 19030 (: *hert*), 23448 (: *hert*), etc. [cf. *quart* in the «addition» v. 28049 (: *hert* s.)].

5. *world* s. C 230; ~ *werld*, -(e)s C 121, 227, 267, etc. (about 41 140 cases; incl. the probably miswritten *werl* 2005, *weld* 23156), CE 21853, 22508, 22532, 23670, 23722 [note the rimes: *herd* pt. & pp. (written *hard* C 552) C 552, 2891, 3457, . . . 21526, 23654 (14); : *ferd* pt. «went» (written *fard* 5463) C 5463, 12001, 13207, : *ferd* «afraid» C 11433, : *lerd* pp. C 12060; *werd*, -e, -es (E ~ -is) C 3108, 17996 (: *ferd* «afraid»), E 19376, 21636, 21774, etc. (E 36; incl. the rime: *herd* pp. 23654); *werdische* adj. E 22754; ~ *warld* C 91 (: *herd* pp.), 1044, 1259, . . . 8002, 8258 (8).

(-)wel(l), *wele*, *welis* s. sg. & pl. C 472 (: *sele*), 2901, 4054, 5714, 8756. *weli*, -ier, -iest adj. C 7879, 9135, 9958.

6. *wern* v. C 12106 (: *lern* v.), 21334 (: *ern* s.); ~ *warn* etc. (cf. § 331) C e.g. 2564 (: *barn* s.), 3040 (: *barn*), 4939, CE 22342 (: *barn*). *wer(r)ied*, -id etc. pt. & pp. (adj.) C e.g. 920, 13811, CE 21833; ~ *waried*, -id etc. (cf. § 331) C e.g. 2077, 9888, 15279; ~ *wirid* C 10067 (: may be due to the analogy of *wirid* «worried», see below C 3; cf. however also *wi-* for OE *wē*, below C 2. — Or simply a scribal error for *we-*?).

C.

42

1. (-)wom(m)an sg. C 185, 629, etc., CE 19251 f., 20049, etc. (CE 9 cases); *wommen* pl. C e. g. 2672, 3900, E 23451, 24008 [~ (-)wimman sg. C 10906, E 19183, 20102, 24680; (-)wimmen pl. C e. g. 1577, 3908, 5543, etc., CE 24621, 24644, E 22341 (or here sg.)].

Otherwise no w-influence; cf. e. g. *wil(l)* pres. sg. & pl. C 95, 134, 265, etc., CE 19024, 19217, etc. (~ *wel*, see below); *quilk*

etc. C 146, 421, etc., CE 19225, 19344, etc.; *suilk* etc. C 77, 85, 372, etc., CE 19121, 19230, etc. (incl. the rime: *ilke* 19286); ~ *silk* E 24215, 24878 (miswritten?) [~ *sulk* E 24558: no doubt miswritten for *suilk*]. — In the occasional forms with *we-*, such as *wel* »will» pres. sg. & pl. C 12106, 16327, 17238, 20280, 20355, 20706, E 23754, *weld* pt. »would» C 8446, *well*, -e s. C 20646, E 19840, *sweftnes* E 23412, the -e- need not be due exclusively or mainly to w - ; cf. e. g. *stell*, -e adj. »still» C 12177, 20509, and other forms of a similar kind quoted from other texts by MORSE. Gr. § 114. The rather numerous -e-forms of *will* etc. may in fact derive from the OE variant with w e - ; cf. SIEVERS Gr. § 428, Anm. 4, and below LCh, § 119.

2. No w-influence. Cf. e. g. *suelid* pt., *biswel(e)d* pp. »swallowed» C 15383, 16484, CE 23149; *swelt* inf. CE 24175 (: *delt* pp.); *quelpe*, -es s. C 12337, 18645 (~ -i-, see below); *twelue* C 174, etc. — For *walud* »withered» C 11213 (~ *welud* C 1326), see above § 29.

Occasional *wi*-forms such as *wil*, -ll, -lle »well» adv. C 2000, 2438, 5024, 6849, *quillp*, -es s. »whelp» C 7105, 12348, *quillum* »quell» v. E 24862 (all ≈ usual -e-), however they are to be explained, no doubt derive from early ME w ē - .

43 3. *wor:n*, -e etc. s. C 887, 889, etc. (10), CE 21671, 23226, 23281. *worsum* s. C 11835.

wird s. C 8891, 9967 (: *bird* s. »lady»), 10078 (: *bird* »lady»), 15279, 20282 (: *brid* »lady»); *wiirdid* pp. E 23368; ~ *weird* s. C 3453, 3475; *weirded* pp. C 23368; *werd* E 23670(?). *wirk*, -e etc. v. (C ≈ *wyr-*) C 1721, 1753, 2200, etc. (13; incl. the rimes: *kirc*, *kyrke* s. 8299, 8855, 14764), CE 19532 (: *kirke*, -rc s.), 21670, etc. (8), E 22050; *wri(c)k* C 1229, 11786, 11971 (≈ *wer-*, see B 4). *wired* pt. »worried» C 5902. — Cf. *wright* s. C 325 (: *sight*), etc.

[N o t e : *wonsum* C 5792 (~ *winsum* C 2484) is remarkable; miswritten, or a loan from the South ?].

4. (-)word, -e etc. s. C 259, 339, 890, etc. (numerous), CE 19258, 19303, etc. (numerous) [note the rimes : *suerd* s. C 3182, : *suord*, -e C 7947, 24329, CE 20989, 21123; : *comfortd* s. C 7817; : *hord* s. C 19214, 23860, CE 23894; : *ord*, -e s. C 10625, CE 24074, E 19214; : *fortd* »forth» C 11084; : *bord* s. C 14095; : -word C 13898, 14330]. — Cf. *wroght*, -ought, etc. pt. & pp. C & E (numerous; incl. rimes: -oght) [~ *worght* C 518 (: *noght*); if not miswritten for *wro*-, this form has probably, as indicated by the rime, been developed from an earlier (ME) *w r o*-form].

Note.

44

w ī is often written *wy*-.

Original OE *w ũ* appears once as *wu*-: *wunt* adj. C 3520; otherwise only as *wo*-: *wol* s. »wool», *wolf* s. (and *wlve* E 20935, probably miswritten for *wo*-), *won*, -*nnen* pp. »won», *suongen* pp., (-)swonken pl. pt.; (*vn*)*won*, -e s. & adj. (OE (ge)*wuna*), *won*, -and etc. v. (OE *wunian*), *wont*, -e adj. (~ *won to*, *wonto*); *wonder* s. & v.; *wond*, -e s. »wound», -ed, -it pp.; *wonden* pp. »wound».

Original OE *w ǒ* appears only as *wo*-; cf. C 4; further *sworn* pp. C e. g. 3994, 14561 (: *born*), CE 18995 (: *born*, -e), 23112. — For *wald*, -e pt. »would» C & E (numerous; *wold* does not occur), see § 311.

VI. The Early English Psalter (in Verse).

45

Edited by J. STEVENSON: Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter (Surtees Soc. Nos. 16, 19. London 1843, 1847) from MS. Cotton Vesp. D. 7; later, mainly from the same MS. (with the variants of the other two: MSS. Egerton 614

and Harl. 1770), by C. HORSTMANN : Yorkshire Writers (London 1895, 1896) II p. 129 ff. The MS. is according to HORSTMANN op. cit. of about A. D. 1350; it is in the Northern dialect (: MORSE. Gr. p. 8). — Cf. further LUICK, St. p. 32; EILERS p. 44.

I have used HORSTMANN's edition; and my quotations refer to the psalms and verses as numbered in that edition (i. e. in the same way as in Rolle's psalms; somewhat differently numbered in STEVENSON's ed. and in the Authorized Version).

46 A.

nil sg. imp. 36/1, 7, 8, 61/10, 10, 10, 102/2, 104/14, 14, 118/31; *nilles* pl. imp. 74/4, 4, 5, 5.

B.

1. *bitwix*(-) 6/7, 9/11, 25/6, etc. (14). *wight* s. »wight» 8/6 (: *bright* adj.), 90/6 (?); *nawight* adv. 75/2 (: *night*), 90/7 (: *righte*) [cf. *noght*(e) adv. & pron. 1/1, 1, 5, 5, etc. (very numerous; rimes : *oghte*, *thoght*, etc.); *oghte* pron. 9/10 (: *noghte*), etc.; *ought* pron. 8/7].

For *weghtes* s. pl. 61/9 (Lat. »in stateris»), see § 256.

2. *werst* sup. 33/21.

For *worschip*, *worth*, -y, etc., see B 4.

3. *wode*, -es s. 49/11 (: *gode* adj.), 73/7, 79/14, 82/13, 95/12 (: *gode* adj.), 103/21 (: *gode* adj.), 131/6.

swepings, -inges s. pl. (Lat. »flagella», »afflictio», »in verberibus») 31/13, 34/18, etc. (6 cases).

qui(c)*ke* adj. 41/2, 123/2; *qui*(c)*ken* etc. (~-y-) v. 40/2, 70/22, etc. (18). *swikel* adj., -elli adv., etc. (~-y-) 5/7, 11/2, etc. (17; incl. the rimes : *mikel* 11/3, 108/2) [cf. *swikedom* etc. 9/29, 23/4, etc.]. — *widow* etc. s. 67/5, 77/70, 93/6, 131/16, 145/8. *wite*, -es inf., pl. imp. »know» 4/4, 9/21, etc. (6; incl. the rimes 82/5: *Ismaelite*, 93/8: *yhite* adv.) [*wite* sg. pres. opt. 118/125, 138/22; (*un*)*wit*(e)*and* pres. p., adj., -nes s. 24/7, 35/11, 86/3].

4. *forworth*, -e, -ed (~-þ-) inf., pres. opt., pt. 1/7, 2/12, 9/3, 47 5, 7, 19, 40, 36/23, etc. (26). — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *worschip(e)*, -ep(e), etc. s. & v. 28/2, 44/10, 48/12, 21, 49/16, 24, 71/14, 95/7, 98/3, 138/16; *worth* s. & adj. 48/8, 61/4, 93/11, 102/14; (der)*worthi* adj. 18/11, 20/3, 49/4, 115/14, 149/8; *stalworth*, -e adj., -er comp., -(h)ede s. 7/12, 17/1, 34/12 46/9, etc. (9).

(-)werke, -es s. 8/4, 6, 9/17, 16/5, etc. (57; incl. the rimes: clerkes 67/14, :merke adj. 103/24). — *sword*, -e 7/13, 9/6, 16/4, etc. (21). (-)werp, -e, -and inf., pres. opt., pres. p. 2/3, 16/2, 50/12, 70/10, 76/7. (un)quert, -e, -es s. & adj. 7/11, 10/2, etc. (30; nearly all rimes: herte s.; besides: ert 2 sg. pres. ind. 88/26).

4. *werld*, -e, -es s. 1/7, 7, 9/5, 5, 8, 40, etc. (124). *wele* s. sg. 21/3 (: *Irael*), 36/17 (: *fele* adj.); *un-weli* adj. 78/8 (cf. STRATM.-BRADLEY).

6. *werye* inf., -i(h)ed pt. & pp. »maledicere» 54/12, 61/4, 108/27, 118/21.

C.

48

1. No w-influence. Cf. e. g. *wil* sg. pres. ind.; *whilk*, -e 6/2, 9/16, etc., *swilke* 123/4, 138/10; *swith*, *swiþeli* adv.; *whil*, -e adv. [»woman» s. does not occur in any form in Ps.].

2. No w-influence; cf. e. g. *sweligh*, -is, -ed v. 13/8, 20/9, etc.; *wele* adv.; *whelpes* s. pl. 103/22.

3. (-)worme s. 21/5, 77/51, 103/26. *wortes* s. pl. 36/2. *wirke*, -es, -(e)ande pl. pres. ind., pres. p. 5/6, 6/8, 13/8, etc. (20); -(e)inge s. 103/24, 106/23.

4. (-)worde, -es s. 2/6, 5/1, 16/5, 7, etc. (79; incl. the rimes: rorde s. 18/4, : borde s. 77/22). — Cf. *wroght*, -e pt. & pp. 43/2, 67/31, etc. (6; incl. rimes: *noghte*, *soghte*, (b)thoghte).

Note.

49

w [̃]i is very often written wy-.

Original OE w ū generally appears as wo-, rarely as wu- (i case); /nd also as wou-: *wolle* s. 147/16; *ouerwonnen* pl.

pt. 108/3; *swongen* pp. 72/5, 14; *swonken* pp. 104/31, 106/39; *toworþ* pt. opt. 105/26; *wone* etc. v. (OE *wunian*), -ing s. 1/7 (: *sone* »son»), 2/4, 5/5, etc., 25/8, etc. ~ *wun* inf. 118/5; *wonder* etc. s. & v. 9/1, 25/7, etc.; *wondes* s. pl. »wounds» 68/31 ~ *woundes* s. pl., -ed pp. 38/13, 63/8, etc. (5).

Original OE *w* ð appears only as *wo-*: cf. C 4. — For *wald* pt. »would» 17/22, 35/3, 39/9, etc., see § 311.

50 VII. Richard Rolle de Hampole: The Pricke of Conscience.

Edited by RICHARD MORRIS: *The Pr. of C.* (Stimulus Conscientiæ). A Northumbrian Poem by Richard Rolle de Hampole. Berlin 1863. — MORRIS' edition is based upon MS. Cott. Galba E. 9 (MS. C), the verses missing in this MS. (vv. 1537-1729, 6923-9210) being supplied from MS. Harl. 4196 (MS. H), which latter lacks vv. 2593-3937. Both MSS. are given in the British Museum Catalogue as belonging to the 14th century; but MORRIS op. cit. p. IV assigns them to the beginning of the 15th century.

Both are in the Northern dialect; according to MURRAY, *Dialect* p. 30, the orthography of »the MS.» (: meaning MS. C, or both MSS. ?) is however »influenced by that of the Midland English».

The author of the poem, Richard Rolle, was born in Yorkshire (at Thornton), and he lived during his last years at Hampole, not far from Doncaster (Yorkshire). The probable year of his death is 1349.

My quotations apply to the verses as numbered in MORRIS' edition. Where it is not specially stated from which of the two MSS. (C and H) a form has been taken, I have simply followed MORRIS' edition; in the case of all words of special

interest, however, I also give the forms found in those parts of MS. H which were not printed by MORRIS.

Cf. P. ANDREAE: *Die Handschriften des Pricke of Conscience von Richard Rolle de Hampole*. (Diss. Berlin 1888); BÜLBRING, E. St. 23, 1 ff.; LUICK, St. p. 52., EILERS p. 49 f.

A. No cases.

51

B.

1. *wight*, -es ~ -y- s. »wight» 1874 (: *right*), 5525 (: *knyghtes*), 6186. [Cf. *oght* pron. 10 (: *wroght* pp.), 175, etc.; *noght* pron. & adv. 46 (: *wroght* pt.), 61, 126, etc.]; *wyght* adj. 689 (: *light*).

For *weght* s. »weight» 7690 (: *sleight*), see § 256.

2. *wirschepe* s. & v. H 60, 5784. For *wors(c)hepe* s. & v., *worthy* adj.; etc., see B 4.

wers comp. CH 61, H 7272; *werst* sup. CH 4456.

3. *wodde* s. C 3184, 3189.

quik ~ -y- adj., -en v. CH 38, 3981, 6390, 9520 (C *qwilk*: scribal error), H 1668, 1723, 6981. — *wite*, *witt(e)* (~ *wyt*, -tte) inf. 1796, 1801, 2935, etc. (13 cases; incl. 9 rimes: *it*, *flitte* inf., *yhit(te)* adv., (-) *writte* ~ *wrytt* s.) [*witte*, *wytt*, -e sg. imp. & pres. opt. 2935, 4653 (: *itte*), 5718; *witandly* adv. 5727]. *syster* H 7408, 8278, 8428, 8429.

4. *worth* pres. opt., *for-worthes* pl. pres. ind. (of OE *weorðan*) 52 CH 780, H 7396. — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *wors(c)hepe* etc. s. & v. CH 55, 83, 596, 604, etc. (12 cases), C 60, 5784, H (C missing) 7827, 8411, 8536, etc. (7 cases) (~ *wir*-, see B 2); (-) *worthy* (~ -i), -ly, -nes CH 132, 268, 944, etc. (19 cases), C 3499, 3541, 3757, 3807, 3822, 3935, H 1713, 7509, 7768, 8988; *stalworth*, -ly CH 130, 689, H 9084.

werk, -es s. CH 83, 146, 164, 323, etc. (29 cases), C (H missing) 2621, 2660, etc. (7 cases), H (C missing) 7139, 7540, etc. (6 cases) [incl. the rimes: *clerk*, -es C 2621, 3830, H 7139, CH 9588; : *merk* s. CH 4406]. *overthwert* adv. H 8552 (MS. -*thewrt*, scribal error). — *swerd* H 8322. *quert* s. 326 (: *hert* s.).

5. *world*, -e, -es, -is, -isshe, -ly, etc. s. & adj. CH 225, 233, 880, etc. (about 200 cases), C (H missing) 3762, 3935, H (C we-) 71, 262, 353, 994, etc. (35 cases), and (C missing) 1541, 1549, etc., 7083, 7111, etc. (44 cases, incl. MS. *wordes* 1656, no doubt due to a blunder of the scribe; MORRIS prints *worldes*); ~ *werld*, -es, -ys s. CH 464, 6627, C (H wo-) 71, 262, 353, 994, etc. (35 cases, incl. 6269, where MORRIS prints *world*), and (H missing) 2597, 2735, H (C missing) 6975, 8775.

wele s. sg. 1002, 1260, 1278, 1279 (: *wehle* s.), etc.

6. *wery* inf., *weried* pt. & pp. CH 4402, 6186, 9423, 9438, H 7395, 7397 f., 7422, 8472.

For *warn* inf. H 7985 (cf. also *ward* C 3058, probably miswritten for *warned*, which appears in other MSS.), see § 331.

53 C.

1. *woman* sg. CH 484, 534, 579, etc. (9 cases) H 197, 479 [~ *weman* sg. C 197, 479]; *women* pl. C 569 [~ *wem(m)en* pl. H 569, 7336, CH 9340, *wymmen* pl. H 7490] (the *we*-forms have $\bar{e}$ < $\bar{i}$, according to LUTCK St. p. 42).

Otherwise no w-influence; cf. e. g. *wil*, *wille* pres. sg. & pl. 40, 94, 95, 163, etc.; *wild* pt. ~-y- 1732, etc.; *w(h)ilk*, *qw*-, *qu*- 144, 159, 204, etc.; *sw*-, *suilk*, ~-y-, 155, 273, 307, etc.; *wist* ~-y- pt. 1782, etc.; *while* ~-y- s., *whil(le)s* ~-y- adv.

2. No w-influence; cf. e. g. *swelghe* inf. 6232, *wele* adv.

3. *worme*, -es s. CH 567, 863, 870, etc. (11 cases), H 6953, 7051, 7088, 7095. *worow* inf. CH 1229.

wirk, -e ~-y- inf., -yng s. CH 335, 2138, etc. (16 cases), C 3320, 3554, 3778, 3791, 3818; *wirkes* 3 sg. pres. C 3134, 3137, 3685 [incl. the rimes: *kirk*, -e, -es ~-y- 2138, 3320, etc. (11 cases)].

4. *word*, -e, -es s. CH 289, 320, 1302, etc. (26 cases), C 2719, 3498, H 7116, 7139, 7450, 7686. — Cf. *wroght* pt. & pp. 9, 45, 53, etc. (numerous, incl. rimes : *oght*, *noght*, *boght*, etc.).

Note.

54

wĩ often appears as wy-.

Original OE w ũ appears as wo-, /nd also as wou-: *wolwarde* H 3514, *wolfes*, -*wes* s. pl. CH 1228, 9449, *won(n)e* etc. v., -*yng* s. 13, 60, 980, etc. (numerous; incl. several rimes: *son* »son», :*son* »sun», and : *Amazons* s. pl. 4464); *wonder* etc. s. & v. 193, 276, 889, etc. (numerous; incl. the rimes: *sondre*, -*der* 889, 7213; : *under* 7609); *wondes* s. pl. »wounds» 5327, 5337, 5598, 5600 ~ *wound*, -*es* s., -*ed* pp. 1702, 1724, 5305, 8322, 8344.

Original OE w ǒ appears only as wo-: cf. C 4; for *wald*, -*e* pt. »would» 15, 80 (: *halde* inf.), 112, etc. (numerous), see § 311.

b). East Midland texts.

1. The Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 1132-1154.

55

This latest part of the »Chronicle», probably composed shortly after A. D. 1154 in Peterborough (Northamptonshire), is preserved in the original MS. Laud. 636, Bodl. Library (cf. e. g. EARLE's edition, Preface p. L; MORSE. Gr. pp. 7, 8). The dialect is North-East Midland, only occasionally mixed with archaic forms of the late OWS literary language (: MORSE. Gr. 1. c.). — I have used the edition of THORPE: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* etc. (London 1861; in the series *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain*, etc.); for other editions cf. KÖRTING, *Grundriß* § 14, foot-note. — Cf. also

BEHM: The Language of the Later Part of the Peterborough Chronicle, Diss. Upsala 1884; H. MEYER: Zur Sprache der jüngeren Teile der Chronik von Peterborough, Diss. Freiburg 1889.

My citations refer to the »years» of the Chronicle (e. g. 37/ = 1137) and to the lines of each »year» in THORPE's edition.

56 A. No cases.

B.

1. *betwux* 40/51 ~ *betwux*, -*twux* 35/17, 40/7, 25, 54. — Cf. *noht* 32/7, 40/7, 32, 51 ~ *naht* 35/10, 37/40, 40/29.

2. *w-*, *uuerse* comp. 37/28, 28, 34 ~ *wærse* 40/8, 30, 32.
— For *wur(t)scipe* see B 4.

3. *suster* 40/42.

suynen pl. pt. 40/13. *swikes* s. pl. (OE *swica*) 35/14, 37/7.

4. *wur(t)scipe* s. 32/10, 37/48, 40/56, 54/5, 12 may be given here, cf. § 9.

weorkes s. pl. 37/55; *castelweorces* s. pl. 37/12.

5. 6. No cases.

57 C.

1. The usual form is *wi-*, which occurs in all words of this group; cf. e. g. *willen* pl. pres. ind. 37/57; *swilc*, -*e* 35/3, 37/41, 42, *alswic* 37/2; *wiste* pt. 32/5; *wimman* sg. 37/14, -*men* pl. 40/45; *wile* adv. — As to the *wy-*forms: *suwde*, -*the* 37/11, 47, 40/4, 6, 33, 57 (~ *swiðe*, -*the* 32/7, 35/4, 38/4, 40/12), *horderwycan* s. 37/52 (~ *wican* s. 37/51), *wyð* prep. 40/35 (~ usual *wi-*) — further *betwux* B 1, *suycen* pl. pt. B 3 —, their -*y-* is probably, as far as the author (& scribe) is concerned, purely orthographical, standing for *ŷ* (cf. MORSB. Gr. § 129 & Anm. 1).

2. No w-influence appears. [Cf. *uuerre* s. »war» 40/6; *uerrien* v. »war» 35/16].

3. No cases.

4. No cases. — Cf. *wrohte* pt. 37/46.

Note.

58

wy- probably stands for *wī* in the language of the author (and scribe), cf. § 57.

Original OE *w ũ* appears only as *wu-*: *wundes* s. pl. 37/26; *wunder* s., *-lice* adj., 37/8, 63, *ofwundred*, *-wu-* pp. 35/4, 40/5; *wurðe*, *-rþen*, *-rthen* pl. pt. 35/4, 18, 40/23.

Original OE *w ǒ* appears only as *wo-*: *forsworen*, *-suoren* 37/10, 40; *w-,uolde* pt. (only form) 32/2, 6, etc.

OE *ēo* sometimes appears as *-eo-* (cf. B 4); but also as *-e-* (e. g. *erthe* s. 37/), and *-æ-* (e. g. *dær* »deer» 35/, *dære* »dear» 37/). — Note that *-eo-* is not limited to represent OE *ē o*: cf. e. g. *feorde(n)* pt. (of OE *fēran*) 32/, etc., *eom* s. (OE *ēam*) 37/, *beom* s. (OE *bēam*) 37/.

II. The Orrmulum.

59

Edited by R. HOLT: *The Orrmulum*, with the notes and glossary of Dr. R. M. WHITE (Oxford 1878); from the unique MS. (: Jun. 1) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. — The MS., which is apparently the author's own work, seems to have been written about A. D. 1200.

Cf. KÖLBING's review of HOLT's edition, in E. St. 2,494 ff., and his collation of WHITE's edition with the MS., in E. St. 1,1-16. In the few cases of interest in the present case, in which KÖLBING's readings differ from those found in HOLT's edition, I have followed KÖLBING.

Cf. also P. LAMBERTZ: *Die Sprache des Orrmulums nach der lautlichen Seite untersucht* (Diss. Marburg, 1904), and the references given there pp. 5-7; further H. REICHMANN: *Die Eigennamen im Orrmulum* (Diss. Göttingen, 1904).

MORSBACH (Gr. p. 8) places the Orrmulum in the Northern 60

part of the East Midland; and opinions to much the same effect have been expressed e. g. by WHITE (in his edition of the *Orrmulum*, Oxford 1862; cf. HOLT's edition, Preface p. LXIV f.), by LAMBERTZ op. cit. p. 149 (: the language »des nordostmerzischen Grenzgebiets«), and by R. JORDAN, GRM II, p. 132 f. (: Lincolnshire). But it has often been pointed out (cf. BÜLBRING, Bo. Btr XVII p. 59, and references given there) that the dialect of the work is not a pure dialect, but contains, alongside of the main characteristics of the Mercian dialect, a considerable number of forms which, as far as we know, can be derived only from the Old (West) Saxon, not from the Old Mercian forms. — A case of this kind is *weorrc* (cf. § 300), perhaps also *þweorrt* (§§ 300, 308 f.); *wuke* need not be accounted for in this way (cf. § 290).

[I have not recorded the accents etc. occasionally found in the MS.].

61 A.

nisste, *-enn* pt. 1973, 2463, 2931, etc. (11). — *nile*, *-enn* pres. (1 & 2 sg.; pl.) 2091, 2444, 4446, 6020, etc. (13); *nillt* 2 sg. pres. ind. 6278, 12238.

B.

1. *fulluhht* s. D 4, 194; 195, 847, etc. (numerous); cf. *fullhtnenn*, *-esst*, *-edd* v. D 192, etc.; 94, 1550, etc.

(*nan*, *æni3*) *wihht* s. »wight» D 262, 269, 273; 1761, 11612; (*n*)*awihht* pron. & adv. 6905, 10351, etc. (6) [cf. *ohht* pron. 432, 665, etc., *nohht* pron. & adv. D 59, etc.].

For *wehhte* s. »weight» 7812, 7828, 7880, see § 256.

2. *werrse* comp. 7395, 8258, 14064, etc. (8); *werrseenn* inf. 11845; *werrst* sup. 4250. — Cf. the Scand. *werre* comp. 4898.

For *wurp* etc. 3 sg. pres. ind., and *wurp*, *-e* s. & adj., etc., see B 4.

3. *cude* s. »cud» 1237. *wude* s. 14568. *susstress* s. pl.

6379, 6382, 15709, 15731. *sutell* adj. 18862. — *wuke*, -*ess* s., *wukeda* 33, -*malumm* 536, 551, 554, 4173, etc. (12).

swepe s. (OE *swipa* etc.) 15562, 15802, 15812 (cf. § 289).

cwicc, *cwike* adj. 1364, 1367, 1370, 1386, etc. (17). *twi* 335 adv. D 104; 566, etc. (numerous) ~ *twi* 35 11213. — *widdwe*, -*esshad* 4605, 4606, 4624, 7651, etc. (11) ~ *widewe* 8632. *wite* s. m., -*ess* gen. sg. 8672, 17293; (*uþ*)*witess* pl. 3083, 7083, 7235, etc. (20). *witenn* inf., pl. pres. ind. & imp. D 111; 199, 317, etc. (numerous) [*witt tu*, *wite* imp. sg., pres. opt. (numerous)].

4. *wurpenn* inf. (OE *weorðan*) D 128, 187, 224; 86, etc. (157), 62 *wurpē* sg. pres. opt. 45, 4823, etc. (10), *forrwurpenn* pl. pres. ind. 18814; further (if not to B 2, cf. § 9) (*for*)*wurpē*, -*rrpēþþ* 3 sg. pres. ind. 2185 f., 6259, 15041, 18826, 18829.

Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *wurpenn* inf. (OE *weorðian*) 208, 909, etc. (20), *unnwurpēþþ* sg. pres. ind. 18285, *wurpedd* pp. 2358, 2630, etc. (10); *wurpē* s. »homage» 1141, 1621, 3375; *wurp(þ)shipe* s. 726, 731, 3925, 3936, etc. (10); *wurpminnt* s. 3379, 12369; -*like* adv. 1033, 1690, etc. (10); -*full* adj. 5195, 5801, etc. (4); (*unn*)*wurpē* adj. 1156, 2287, etc. (20); *wurpī* adj. D 127, 249, 319; 2705, etc. (18) ~ *wurpī* 8345 (: KÖLBING); *de(o)rewurpē* adj. 4958 f., 6689, 6755, 8170; (*lic*)*wurpī* 3 adj. 4200, 15919; *stallwurp(þ)li* 3 adv. 5520, 11947.

werrc s. sg. D 24; 1035, 1046, etc. (29), *werrkess* pl. 4167, 7778, etc. (13), *werrkeda* 335 s. pl. 11315; ~ *weorrc* 1408, 1833, etc. (9), *weorrkess* pl. 1511. *þwerret ut* D 74, 79; P 105; 194, 313, etc. (101); ~ -*eo*- 1626, 2543, etc. (29).

swerd, -*ess* 6639, 7647, etc. (*for*)*werrpenn* inf., pl. pres. ind. D 74, 149, 155, etc. (45), *forrwerrp*, -*eþþ* imp. 6272, 9587, -*e* pres. opt. 1627, 3227, etc. (5), *forr*-, *towerrpesst*, -*eþþ* 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. 2965, 3993, etc. (24) ~ *werpenn* inf. 10488 (: KÖLBING) ~ *forrweorripesst* 2 sg. 4674 (: KÖLBING).

5. *werelld* 4192 f., 7297, 13135, etc. (43), -*þingess*, -*shi-*

pess 6385, 15412, 15770, 16966, *wereld* 18845 (: KÖLBING), *werrld* 15460, *werldess* 13176, 13178, etc. (23); ~ *weorelld* 3285, 3319, . . . 11558, 12558 f. (11), -*þing*(ess), -*ship*(ess), -*lif*, -*like* adj., -*richess*, -*ahhtess* 1628, 1633, 2966, 2969, 2976, 2978, . . . 11800, 12079 (28); *weorrlde* 7483, 8831, 11122.

6. *werdenn* inf., -*esst*, -*eþþ* sg. pres. ind. 4251, 5185, 5189, 5193, 6255; ~ *weordenn* inf., -*e* sg. pres. opt., -*eþþ* sg. pres. ind. 2764, 6106, 6249. *wherrfedd* pp. »perverse» 9721; (*an*)-*wherrfeddle* 33c s. 9825, 11124, etc. (11).

For *forrwarrzedd* pp. 8048, cf. § 331. — [*wharrfenn* inf., -*eþþ* pres. ind., -*edd* pp. »to change, turn» 3641, 8420, etc. (28), *wharrfeddle* 33c s. »error» 18769, derive from OE *hwearfian*].

63

C.

1. No w-influence. Cf. e.g. *wil(l)e*, *willt*, *wilenn* pres., (*i*)*whillc*, -*llke*(s) pron., *swillc*, -*llke* pron., *wisste*, -*enn* pt., *witerr* adj., -*like*, -*li*z adv., *dwilde* s. (~ -*llde* 18856); *wifmann*(-), -*menn* sg. & pl. ~ *wimm*-; *swiþe* adv., *whil*, -*e*, -*umm*, *twifald*; *whi*.

2. Generally no w-influence, Orrm's usual form being *we*-; cf. e.g. *swelltenn* inf., pl. pres., (*unn*)*wemmedd* pp., *twellf*(e), etc. The only doubtful case is *wheollpedd* pp. 6029 (~ *whellpedd* 5839, *whellp* s. 5838); cf. § 353. — For *swollzhenn* inf. 10224, see § 356.

3. *wurrm* s. 4870 (cf. the Scand. *Orrmin* D 324 f., *Orrm* P 2, *Orrmulum* P 1, 94).

wirrsenn s. (OE *wyrms* etc.) 4782. *wirrkenn* inf., pl. pres., -*esst*, -*eþþ* 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. D 24; 6244, 7369, etc. (23). — Cf. *wrihhte* s. (OE *gewyrht*) D 202; 3963, 4283, etc. (7); *wrihhte* s. (OE *wyrhta*) 18780, *Goddspell*-, *Sallmewrihhte*, -*ess* D 160; P 28, etc. (numerous).

4. (*bode*)*word*, -*ess* s. D 22, 42, 43, etc. (about 250) ~ *worrd* 15472 (: KÖLBING). (*forr*-, *to*)*worrrpenn* pp. 354, 1393, etc. (34). — Cf. *wrohht*, -*e*, -*enn* pp. & pt. D 153, etc. (numerous) ~ *wrohhte* sg. pt. 18540.

(-)wurrþenn pp. D 163; 31, 39, etc. (57), forrwurrdennlike adv. 6245, probably have the vowel of the pl. pt. etc., cf. § 375.

Note.

64

wy- does not occur.

Original OE wū appears only as *wu-*: *wulle* s. 12652, etc., *wullderr* s. 3379, etc., *swulltenn* pl. pt. 5321, 8019, *wun(n)derr* etc. s., -li3, -like adj. & adv., (-)wun(n)dredd pp. etc. 218, 3417, etc., *wunnenn* pp. 6112, *swunnkenn* pp. 6103; *wurrdenn* pl. pt. 3343 [and probably (cf. C 4) (-)wurrþenn pp., forrwurrdennlike adv.]; forrwurripe sg. pt. opt. 19937, -enn pl. pt. ind. 1401, 1415, 4650, etc. (16); *wunenn* etc. v. (trans. & intrans.), -edd adj. 2178, 8708, etc.; *wunde* etc. s., -enn etc. v. 1443, etc., *wundenn* pp. 3326, etc., forrswundennle33c 2623, etc.

Original OE wō appears only as *wo-* (for (-)wurrþenn pp., forrwurrdennlike adv., see above): cf. C 4; further *wollde*, -esst, -enn pt. D 20, etc. (cf. *nollde*, -enn pt. 824, 1975, etc.).

OE ǣ very often appears as *-eo-* (= ö; cf. BÜLBR. Bo. Btr XVII p. 51 ff.) in vv. 1-13000 (cf. BÜLBR. l. c. p. 52 f.); but it is also very frequently rendered by *-e-* in this part of the work, and exclusively by *-e-* in the remaining vv. 13000-20068. — It may also be observed that *-eo-* seems to be used in a few cases for ǣ; cf. BÜLBR. l. c. p. 65.

III. Robert Manning of Brunne.

65

Robert Manning's native place »Brunner» is identical with the present Bourne in the South of Lincolnshire; and he belonged, probably as a lay brother, to the priory of Sempringham, situated some six miles from Bourne. He

is known as the author of the »Handlyng Synne», which he began in 1303, and »þe story of Englande» — a translation of Wace's »Brut» and Peter Langtoft's French »Chronicle» — which he finished in 1338. He may or may not be the author also of the »Medytacyuns of þe soper of our lorde Ihesu» (ed. COWPER, EETS. 1875), which follows the »Handlyng Synne» in both the complete MSS. of this work; in any case, I have left the »Medytacyuns» out of consideration in the following.

For works on Robert Manning, his dialect etc., I refer to O. BOERNER (:Die Sprache Roberd Mannynge of Brunne . . . MORSBACH, Studien XII. Halle 1904) pp. 1-15.

- 66 I. The »H a n d l y n g S y n n e» (HS). Preserved complete in two MSS.: MS. Harl. 1701, Brit. Mus., written ab. 1360, and MS. 415 in the Bodleian Library, written ab. 1400; further, vv. 1-2894 of the poem are also contained in the fragmentary Dulwich MS. No. 24, of the 15th century. — Published by FURNIVALL 1862 for the Roxburghe Club, from the Harl. and the Bodl. MSS., and re-edited by him in EETS., Original Series (Nos. 119, 123; London 1901, 1903). This latter edition, which I have used, follows the Harl. MS., giving the variants of the other two MSS. in foot-notes. — The orthography of FURNIVALL's text (as well as that of the Bodl. MS.) differs so considerably from what the rimes tell us about the author's language, that I limit myself to record only the r i m e s of HS.

- 67 II. »þe Story of Englande» (St. E). Preserved in two MSS. (cf. FURNIVALL's edition p. XIX f.): »one at the Lambeth Library, . . . of about the middle of the fourteenth century, which has lost its first leaf, and the other . . . before 1400 A. D., in the Inner Temple Library, Petyt MSS. No. 511, vol. 7.»

Edited by FURNIVALL: The Story of England by Robert Manning of Brunne. A. D. 1338. London 1887. (Chroni-

cles and Memorials etc. No. 87). This edition, which I have followed, gives the Lambeth MS., with variants (not exhaustive) of the Petyt MS. in foot-notes; vv. 1-198, missing in the former MS., are printed from the latter. — Of the Petyt MS. there is an old edition by THOMAS HEARNE, Oxford 1725.

As to the dialect of the Lambeth MS. — whose forms of 68 the *w* words here in question are given below — BOERNER says p. 11: »... so scheint mir doch die Schreibung über die Sprache des Originals hinauszugehen und einen jüngeren Sprachzustand oder die Sprache einer nördlicheren Gegend darzustellen; ... der Text, wie er (i. e. the scribe) ihn uns überliefert hat, wird etwa auf seiner eigenen, d. h. ungefähr 50 Jahre jüngeren, Sprachstufe stehen. Für diese Annahme sprechen namentlich solche Verse, die in ihrer vorliegenden Gestalt eine mangelhafte Taktfüllung aufweisen; ... ». — It is quite possible that the original has been subjected to an adaptation of the kind assumed by BOERNER, i. e. only a modernization on mainly the same dialectal basis; apart from metrical considerations, many, perhaps most, of the MS. forms that differ from the author's language as proved by the rimes, may be explained in this way. But the MS. also presents occasional forms of unmistakably SW or rather SW and South-West Midl. (cf. § 121 ff.) origin, probably introduced by the scribe of the Lambeth MS. Such forms (there may be others of the same or other kinds) are those with *-uy-* for OE $\bar{y}$ (but not for OE $\bar{i}$): *huyde* s. 14904, *huyden* v. 3410, *pruyde* s. 6222, 8766, 10680, 11660, *huyred* pt. 14192, 14393, *luytel* 14681, 16052, 16461, *kuythe* s. 8443 (generally ~ *-i-*, *-y-*-forms, which, as far as they occur in the rime, are only rimed: $\bar{i}$); *-u-* for OE $\bar{eo}$ (?) : *fflute* s. [passim. Or < OE *flyte* s. »pontōnium»? Cf. (f)*flēt(e)* s. e.g. 14536 (: *hēt* pt.); and (f)*flote* s. (OE $\bar{o}$) e.g. 1738 (: *schote* s.)]; *-u-* for OE $\bar{ie}$ (> $\bar{y}$): *hure* pron. pers. & poss. 292, 348, 535,

etc. (numerous; ~ -i-, -y-. Rimed only: $\bar{i}$), *ȝut* adv. 2367, 4060, etc. (numerous; ~ -i-, -y-. Cf. *ȝit* : *Berit* n. pr. 3759), *schulde* inf. 9218 (~ *schildes* 3 sg. pres. ind. 7355. Cf. *scheld* etc. s., rimed: *held* pt. 917, etc.); -u- (generally ~ -i-, -y-; also -e-, cf. below) for OE $\ddot{y}$ (but not for OE $\ddot{i}$; as to OE $w\ddot{i}$, cf. below C 1): *dude* pt. 4082, 10273, *stude* s., -fast adj. 7010, 9923, 15562, *hul* s. 3290, *fulfulle* inf. 1404 (: *wille* s.), 16654, *fulde* pl. pt. 6837, *fulke* 5293, 7341, *brugges* s. pl. 3088, *vnche* s. 10038, *dunedede* pt. 10877, *brunyes* s. pl. 13831, *bury*, -ing etc. 4475, 5342, etc. (numerous), *Caunterbury*, *Salesbury* e.g. 11105 f., 14750, *mury* adj. 5712, 7443, etc., *furst* sup. 7419, 9158, 14488, *burthe* s. 850, *murthe* s. 11008, 11390 [cf. *hurte* v. »hurt» e. g. 13567 (: *burte*, < OFr.) ~ *hirt*, *hyrt* 11539, 12401 (both rimed : *stirt*, -e v.); *much* 761, 3976, 10080 ~ usual *mykel*, *mikel*].

- 69 Beside these distinctly SW and South-West Midl. forms, there are others which seem to point to a Kentish influence. Such are, above all, the rather frequent cases of -e- for OE y — I have noted *kechene* s., *dene* s., *euele* adv., *kest(e)* pt., *lest*, -e pt. & imp., *beried* pp., *mery* adj., *merk(-)* adj., *cerneles* s. pl., *ferste* sup. — which, it seems, will also have to be assigned, mainly at any rate, to the scribe (or scribes), as there are practically no rimed OE e : OE y in St. E. (cf. BOERNER pp. 69, 103). However, since forms of this kind are frequent in other late (i. e. 14th and 15th century) East Midland MSS. — thus Bokenam has e. g. *fer* »fire» (rarely ~ -y-), *kende* s. »kind» (~ -y-), *mende* s. (~ -y-), *lest* v. (~ -y-), *schet* pp., *beried* pp. (~ -y-), *mery* adj., *merthes*, (~ -y-), *cherche* s. (~ -y-), *kechyn* s. (many of these forms are also rimed: OE e); cf. also MORSE. Gr. § 129 f. — we cannot absolutely deny the possibility that these *e*-forms in our MS., whatever their explanation, may represent spoken *e*-forms been more or less generally used as variants in the East Midland dialect of those days.

A.

St. E. *nyst*, -e pt. 864, 7880 (: *Hengist*), etc. (8).

nelt 2 sg. 11518 ~ *nyl* 1 pl. pres. ind. 15310; cf. *nylde* pl. pt. 14633.

B.

1. HS. *betwyx* 3879 (: *crucyfyx*). *wyght*, -3t s. (OE *wiht*) 2221, 3351, etc., (4; rimed: *knyzt*, *syzt*) [cf. *oghte* pron., *no(u)zt*, *nowzt* pron. & adv., *naght* adv.; rimed: *wrouzt* pt. & pp., *hoght* s. & v., etc. 30, 210, 418, 659, etc.]. *wyght* adj. 4602 (: *lyght*), 4916 (: *fyght*).

St. E. *bvtwix* 9979; *bytwixt*, -e, -en 544, 860, etc.; ~ (*be-*, *by-*, *bi*)*twyxt*, -en 364, 520, 715, etc. *wyght* s. (OE *wiht*) 7853 (: *fight*), 8050, 8055 (: *fight*) [cf. *ought* pron. 5167, 6611, etc., *nought* pron. & adv. 2218, 2220 (: *sought*), etc. ~ *nout*, *nowt* 4460, 7048, 8374, etc. ~ *naught* 14624]. *wyght*, -e, -ly ~ *wi-* adj. & adv. 3509, 4069 (: *highte* pt.), etc.

2. HS. *werst* sup. 7367 (: *yncest* s). Cf. the Scand. *werre* 71 comp. (: *erre* inf.) 474.

St. E. *wyrschip* s. 7632; *wyrschipe* pl. pres. ind. 7369, (~ *wor-*, cf. B 4). *wirse* comp. 8696; ~ *wors*, -e comp. 2432 2492, etc. (7), *alderworst* sup. 6748. — For *worth* etc. adj., see B 4.

3. HS. *quyk* adj. 5571 (: *wyk* adj. (= $\bar{y}$)), 10046 (: *verrylyk* adv.). *twy(y)s* adv. 4058 (: *auys* s. (= $\bar{y}$)), 6829 (: *wys* adj. (= $\bar{y}$)), etc. — *wytte* inf., *wyte*, -yn, *wete*, -yn inf. & pl. pres. ind. (: *sytte* inf., (y)*wryte*, -yn pp.) 39, 409, 1417, etc.; (: *lyte* adj.) 6998; (: *flyte* inf. (= $\bar{y}$)) 3767.

St. E. *wode*, -es, -eland s. 855, 954, 1097, etc. (55).

wyke s. 9353. *Wircestre* 15676. *quyk*, -e, -ly ~ *qui-* (~ *quiy-* 4388) 3528, 3545, etc. (19; incl. rimes: *styke* inf., *þyk* adj., -*lyk(e)*, -*lik*, *Ekfrik*, *Osrik*). *swykel* adj. 3828 (: *mykel*). *twy(e)s* adv. 4704 (: *pris* s. (= $\bar{y}$)), 4710, 4874, etc. — *wydewe*, -*hod* 2549, 8614, 14316. *wyte*, -en, -e $\bar{p}$ ~ *wi-* inf., pl. pres. ind. 431 (: *smiten* pp.), 661 (: *syte* inf., probably OE *sittan*),

668, etc. (numerous) [*wite*, *wyte* pres. opt. 4240, 4307, etc.].
sister (*sistren*, -res) ~ *systres* 2307, 2325, 2328, etc. (13).

- 72 4. HS. *werk*, -e, -ys s. (: *clerk*, -e, -ys) 831, 4010, etc. (6).
ouerthuerte 8136 (: *herte* s.). — *querte* s. 6980 (: *herte* s.). —
 The rime *swyer* s. »neck»: *chayre* »chair» 5028 seems to require
 the OE e-variant <**swerhan* (cf. below § 313 f.); the original
 probably had *swere*: *chayere* (cf. NED: *chair*).

St. E. Here may be given (cf. § 9) *worschipe* etc. v. 761,
 1337, 1341, etc. (13), *worschip(e)*, -ype s. 2856, 3619, etc. (10),
worschipfully, -foly adv. 4136, 12462 (~ *wyr*-, see B 2); *worth*,
-rþ adj., -rthly adv. 2863, 9759, etc. (5); *worthe* s. (?) 12140,
worthi, -thy, -þie, -þy adj. 215, 490, 511, etc. (26); *worþly*
 adv. 5724; *stalworth*, -rthe adj. 470, 886, etc. (7), -rdest sup.
 3771 ~ *star-worþest* 8439; *stalwor(th)ly* adv. 494, 9107.

(-) *werk*, -men s. 203, 5767, 6609, etc. (26; incl. 6 rimes:
clerk s., *herk* imp.). *ouerthwert*, -e ~ -þw- 860, 2318, etc. (11;
 incl. rimes: *hert(e)* s., *quert* s., *smert* adj.). — *swerd*, -es s.
 1009, 1544, 1557, etc. (54; incl. the rime: *ferd* pt. 15365),
Swerd n. pr. 1581, 1588, 1596. *swerued* pt. 4629. *quert* s.
 9990 (: *ouerþwert*).

- 73 5. HS. *worlde* (: *herde* pp.) 2764, 10508 ~ *werlde* (: *herd*,
 -e pp.) 3556, 4192, etc. (7). *wele* s. 2056 (: *stele* inf.), 10691
 (: *deyl* (=ē)).

St. E. *world*, -es 4516, 6933, 10032, 10040; *wordles* 4192,
 11338; *word*, -es 4271, 7435, 11474; ~ *werld*, -e 1398, 2302,
 etc. (6; incl. the rime: *byherd* pp. 10543); *werd*, -e 222, 723,
 etc. (12; incl. 8 rimes: *herd(e)* pt. & pp.). *wel* s. (or adv.?)
 5104 (: *whel* s.) ~ *wele* s. 1417, 3513, etc. (6).

6. HS. *werne*, -ede inf. & pt. (: *tauerne*, *esterne*, *zernede*)
 1021, 6739, 10168. — For *warye* inf. »curse» 1289 (: *marye* n.
 pr.) cf. below § 331.

St. E. *werne*, -es, -de, -ed 44, 640, etc. (10; incl. 7 rimes:
zerne v., *Igerne*, *Vortogerne*). — For *waryed* pp. 203, 12258

(BOERNER p. 61: »aus Amerc. *wærzian* entstanden, s. BÜLBRING § 176»), see below § 331.

C.

74

1. HS. No influence of *w-* appears in the rimes.

St. E. *wom(m)an* sg. 612, 1325, etc. (13); *wom(m)en* pl. 639 (or sg.?), 4044, etc. (8) [*~ wymen* pl. 931, 5703, 6535]. *wol*, *-e* (-y 4237, 4239) sg. & pl. pres. 1090, 1478, etc. (36) [*~ wil*, *wil(l)e*, *wilt*, *~ wy-*, 201, 390, etc. (usual forms)].

whuche pron. (adj.) 7116 [*~ which(e)* adj. 719, 726, etc. (5) *~* usual *whilk(e)*, *whylk* 490 f., 521, etc.]. *such(e)* 2858, 3152 etc. (12) [*~ swich(e)*, *swych(e)* 1344, 2830, etc. (13) *~* usual *swilk(e)*, *swylk* 473, 1258, etc. *~ swyilk* 8775 *~ sylk* 1513, *silk* 4261].

Otherwise no *w*-influence appears, either in rimes or orthography; (*w*)*y-* is merely orthographical, = (*w*)*ī-*

2. HS. No *w*-influence appears in the rimes.

St. E. As a rule no *w*-influence. For *wol* adv. »well» 4708 (*~* usual *we-*), and *twolf*, *-lue* »twelve» 8232, 13534 (*~* usual *-we-*; thus e. g. in the rimes: *selue* 1608, 3048), see § 355 and § 353 respectively.

3. HS. *wyrk* inf. 4339 (: *yrk* adj.; glossed »slow») 75 *~ werche* inf., imp., pres. ind. (: *cherche* s.) 577, 874, etc. (29); (: *chyrche*) 833, 927, 1037, 1277.

St. E. *wyrk*, *-e* inf. *~ wir-*, 5001, 9145 (: *kirk*), 15127 (: *kirke*), 15167 (: *kyrke*), 16104 (: *kirke*), 16156; *wyrche* inf. 5743 (: *chirche*). — Cf. *whrightes* s. pl. 8711.

4. HS. *wordys* s. pl. 8394 (: *holdes* pl. pres. ind.; for *hordes?*); *~ wurde* sg. (: *hurde* s. »hoard») 1555, 4909, 6067, 6165; (: *bo(u)rde* s. »board») 4712, 12117; *~ wrde* 1914 (: *hurde* s.). — Cf. *wro(u)ȝt*, *wroght* pt. & pp. 29 (: *nouȝt*), 100 (: *þought* s.), etc.

St. E. (*bode-*, *by*)*word*, *-e*, *-es* 1368, 1374, 1914, etc. (46; incl. the rime: *bord* s. »board» 9314) [*~ werde* 16167, no doubt

a scribal error]. — Cf. *wrought*, -e pt. & pp. 750 (: *nought*), 1240, etc..

76 Note (regarding the orthography of the Lambeth MS. of St. E.).

w^ü is very often written *wy*-.

Original OE w ^ü appears as *wo*- and (only / nd) as *wou*:- *wolf*, -*lues*, (?) *Wolfrith* n. pr.; (y)*wonne*, -*en* pl. pt., pp., *wone* etc. »live,» »dwell», *wond*, *wont* adj.; *wonder* etc. s., *wondred* pt., etc., (?) *wox* sg. pt. (~*wax*, *wex*), -*e*, -*en* pl. pt., pp. (cf. § 248); ~ *wounde*, -*es* s., -*ed* pt. & pp. (rimed: *founde* pp., etc.); *wounden* pp. (: *founden* pp.).

Original OE w ^ö appears only as *wo*:- cf. C 4; further (*fur*)-*sworen* pp. 3071, 3881, etc. (7; incl. rimes: *byform*, *lorn* pp.), *swore* pp. (or pl. pt. ?) 5647 (: *before*); *wold*, -*e*, etc. pt. 522, 552, etc. (incl. rimes: *holde* inf., *bolde* adj., *golde* s., *zolde* pp., pl. pt.) [-*wild*, -*e*, etc. ~ *wy*-, 802 (: *fulfyld*), 2028 (: *Estrilde*), etc.], cf. *molde* pt. 4183, 5250, etc.

IV. The Norfolk Gilds.

The material given below has been collected from the »Returns» of A. D. 1389 of the Norfolk Gilds, published by TOULMIN SMITH, EETS., Orig. Ser. 40 (London 1870), pp. 14-123 (numbered IV-XLIX). — My references are to the numbers and lines of the different »Returns» as printed by TOULMIN SMITH.

Cf. ERNST SCHULTZ: Die Sprache der »English Gilds» aus dem Jahre 1389. Diss. Jena 1891.

A. No cases.

78

B.

1. *be-twixen*, *-twyxen* 11/21, 12/13. *wy(g)the* s. (OE *gewiht*) 11/20, 12/39 ~ *wei-*, *weyght(e)* 4/15, 7/22, 10/9 (cf. § 256). — [Cf. *nought(e)*, *nowȝthe*, *nouth*, *nout*, *nowt*, etc. (very numerous), *not* 16/24, 20/78, etc. (6); ~ *nauht* 43/70, *nat* 13/53].

2. *wyrschipe*, *-epe* s. 4/14, 27/3 (~ *wor-*, *wur-*, see B 4).

3. *Geywode* n. pr. 36/83. — *woke* s. »week» 5/20, 6/27, etc. (12), *wooke* 39/38.

susteren, *sustre* pl. 12/2, 42/12 ~ *syster*, *-ir*, *-ur*, *sistur*, *-(e)re* sg., *sis-*, *syster(e)s*, *-ere(n)*, *-(e)rin*, etc. pl. 4/9 (MS. *sistyn*), 16, 19, 5/4, 6, 12, etc. (more than 350 cases).

wydoues s. pl. 8/22.

witen, *wyten* inf. 19/67, 28/16, 36, 29/56, 86, etc. (10; incl. *qwȝten* 35/26), *wit* inf. 29/25; ~ *weten*, *-ene*, *-yn*, *-eth* inf., pl. imp. 16/33, 49, 17/58, etc. (12), *whet* inf. 12/35 (: probably = $\bar{e}$ < 1 in open syllables, cf. *wreten* pp., *smeten* pp., etc., SCHULTZ p. 9).

4. Here may be given (cf. § 9) *wortht* s. 46/13; *der(e)* 79 *worthi* adj. 21/1, 25/2, 27/1, 37/1 (MS. *-y-* for *-th-*); *Hylburgheworthe* n. pr. 28/63, *worsh-*, *worch-*, *wors-*, *worschip(e)*, *-ep(e)*, *-ype* s., *-fully*, *-fulleke* adv. 6/9, 7/58, 8/1, etc., 10/2, 11/2, etc. (69), *worschippe* inf. 43/4; ~ *der wurthi* adj. 36/1, *wursship* s. 13/62, 14/2, *wurchepe* s. 31/1, 33/3, 36/1, 3; ~ *wrchepe* s. 23/2, 33/1; ~ *wourchipe* s. 31/4.

werkys s. pl. 19/69.

5. *werld* s. 7/43, 8/24, 56, 13/53; ~ *werd* 19/24.

6. No cases.

C.

80

1. An influence of *w-* appears in *wom(m)an* sg. 16/20, 17/39, 45, etc. (19), *wom(m)en* pl. 16/4, 10, 17/4 (MS. *-an*), 18/5, 44/15 [~ *wymman* sg. 20/42, 32/38]; and in the isolated *wolen* 3 pl. 36/66 [~ *wil*, *-ll*, *-lle*, *wyl*, *wyle* 3 sg. pres. 16/21, 17/39, 18/25, etc. (36), *will*, *wyl(l)e* 3 pl. 33/51, 38/58, 44/28],

soche »such» 43/23 [~ *swiche* 38/54, *swilk* 20/54], which are probably both loans from the South, i. e. from London (cf. for other cases of the same kind, SCHULTZ p. 44).

But there are no *wo*-forms of »which»: *whiche* 6/27, 7/5, 12/59, 14/3, *quiche*, *quyche* 11/51, 62, 19/20, etc. (10), *wyche* 43/3, *qwilk* 13/10; ~ *qweche* 28/12 (< OE *hwelc*; or with $\bar{e}$ < $\bar{i}$, cf. *weten* B 3); ~ *wache* 12/11 (: < ONhb *hwælc*, according to SCHULTZ p. 18). — Other words have only *wi*-, *wy*-.

2. No *w*-influence.

3. 4. No cases.

81 N o t e.

$w\check{i}$ is often written *wy*-; cf. SCHULTZ pp. 9, 15.

Original OE $w\check{o}$ appears as *wo*- in *sworon* pp. 12/55, *wolde* pt. 8/30. — I have found no cases of original OE $w\check{u}$.

V. Promptorium Parvulorum.

Modern editions : A. WAY, Camden Soc. Nos. 25, 54, 89; London 1843, 1853, 1865 [from MS. Harl. 221, with corrections and additions taken from other MSS. and from early printed editions]; A. L. MAYHEW, EETS., Extra Series 102; London 1908 [from the Winchester MS.]. — For MSS. and early prints containing the work, see WAY, Preface p. XXXVI ff., MAYHEW, Introduction pp. VIII, XXVI f.

My material has been collected from WAY's edition, as far as this edition is founded on MS. Harl. 221, the best and oldest of the MSS. known. I give below only such of the words here in question as are simple words, or the first elements of compounds, and are found among the alphabetically arranged head-words of the Promptorium. Within these limits the orthography used by the scribe can be

efficiently checked by the place of the words in the lists. There are in fact several cases in which the transcriber has evidently changed the spelling, but not the original order of the words.

A. No cases.

83

B.

1. *atwyxyn* »inter». *wyghte* »pondus». *wyte* »agilis».

2. *woort* »ciromellum».

werce »pejor»; *werce* »pejus»; *werst* »pessimus».

qu-, *whyrlbone* s. »ancha»; *whyrlyn* v. (& *whyrlyn a-bowte*), *-are a-bowte* s., *-e wynde* s., *-egyge* s. *sqwyrtyl* (»or *swyrtyl*) »sifons».

For *wurthe* s. etc., *worschepe* s., etc., see B 4.

3. *woode* s. »silva», *woode* »focale», *-bynde* s., *woode* adj. »silvosa»; ~ *wodeberare* s., *-kok* s., *-dowe* s., *-hake* s., *-hoke* s., *-rove* s., *-schyde* s., *-wale* s., *-warde* s., *-wese* s. — *woke* s. »ebdomada».

cudde s. »rumen».

quyk, *whyk* »vivus», *quyk* »vivax», *qu-*, *whykly* »vivaciter», *qu-*, *whyknesse* »vivacitas», *quyknesse* »vita», *quyknyn* »vegeto, vivifico», *whykyn* »vivifico». — *wyduare* s. m., *wydwē* s. f., *wydewood* »viduitas». *wylke* s. »fysche», *wylke* »schelle». *swypyr* adj. »agilis», *swypyr* adj. »labilis». *wytyn* v. *cystyr*, *syster* s., *syster yn lawe*.

4. (?) *whorlweyl* s. (»of a spyndyl») »vertebrum» (cf. § 296). 84

Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *worschepe* s. »honor, honos, reverentia», *worschyppe* s. »gloria», *worschypfulle* »honorabilis, reverendus, venerabilis», *worchyppyn* v. »honoro» etc. (all placed with *wo-*, not with *wu-*)¹; ~ *wurthe* s. »valor»,

¹) The spelling and place of these forms does not prove that they were pronounced with *wōr* - (< OE *wōr* < *wēor* -) by the author. If their spelling and place has any phonetic signification, it might be this, that the forms were pronounced with *wōr* - (< late lengthening of *ū*, cf. § 86).

wurthy »dignus», *wurthy* »valens», *wurthy* »illustris», *wurthyly* »digne», *wurthynesse* »valor, valitudo», *wurthynesse* »dignitas, probitas» (all placed with *wu*-).

dwerowe s. »manus». *werk* s., and (with the vowel of the subst.) *werke* v. »operator»; *werkday* »feria», *-manne* »artifex», *-ynge* s. »operacio», *werkehowse* »artificina», *werkemanne* s. »ambidexter». *querkyn* v. (»idem quod *quellyn*»), *querkenyde* »suffocatus», *querkenynge* »suffocatio». [Cf. *ovyrthwert* »transversus», *ovyrthwerly* »transverse»]. — *swerde* s. »gladius», *swerd berare* »ensifer», *swerde man* »gladiator». *querne* s. »mola». *whert* (»or *qwert*») »incolumis».

For *warpyyn* v. »make wronge», »wex wronge or avelonge» (: placed with *wa*-, not with *we*-), see § 311.

5. *wordely* adj. »mundanus» (placed with *wer*-; -o- introduced by the scribe) ~ *werlde* s. (»or *worlden*») »mundus» (placed with *werd*-; -l- introduced by the scribe); *werdely* adv. »mundane», *werdlynesse* »mundialitas».

6. *werkyn* »doleo», *werkyn* »doleo, indoleo», *werkynge* »cephalia». — (?) *wherwande* »turricula» (placed with *we*-). — For *waryyn* v. »imprecor», *waryynge* s.; *waryare* s. (: all placed with *war*-), see § 331.

85 C.

1. *womanne* sg. [Cf. (*erche*)*buschope* ~ *by*-].

Otherwise no w-influence; cf. e. g. *whylike* (»or *whyche*») »quis, que, quod» (the place suggests *whyche*); *swyche* »talis».

2. *wolcome* »exceptus» (cf. § 355).

Otherwise no w-influence; cf. e. g. *webbe*, *wedde*, *swellynge* s., *swelnyn* v., *swelwehe* s. »vorago», *-wyn* v., *-wynge* s., *whelp* s., *whelmyn* v., *-ynge* s.

3. *wort* s. »olus, caulis», *wort wyrme* »eruca» (placed with *wo*-).

wyrme »vermis», *wyrmwode* »absinthium». *wyrywyn* »strangulo». — Cf. *wryhte* s. (& *shypwryte* »naupicus»). [Cf. *wusche* s., *-yn* v. ~ *wyschyn* v.].

4. *worde* s. »verbum, sermo».

Note.

86

(w)y- seems to be consistently used for (w) $\bar{y}$.

Original OE w $\bar{u}$ appears as *wo-* (perhaps = w $\bar{o}$ - , cf. SCHULTZ NG p. 11) in (orthographically) open syllables; as *wu-* in (orthographically) closed syllables, except when (early) lengthened /nd, where it appears as *wow-* : *be wone* adj., *wone* s. («custome»), *wonon* («or dwelle»), *wonon* «usito», *wonon* «assuefacio», *wonynge* s. «mansio», *vonynge* «consuetudo». — *wulle* «lana», *-howse* s., *-mann* s., *wullok* s. «villus», *wulfe* s., *wunderelle* s. «prodigium», *nowundyr* «nimirum», *wunderon* v., *-drynge* s., *-dyrfulle* adj., *wunder grete*; *wunnynge* s. («or dwellynge») «mancio», *wunnynge* «frequentacio»; *wunt* adj. («or vsyd»), *wunton* v. «assuefacio». — *wownde* s., *wow[n]dyn* v. «vulnero».

Original OE w $\bar{o}$ appears only as *wo-* : cf. C 4; further *wolkynne* s. («idem quod *welkyn*») [cf. *walkyne* («or *welkyne*, infra)]; *wowyn* pp. (< *wogen); *sworyn* pp., *forsworne* pp., *swore brothyr*.

VI. The Bestiary.

87

Found in MS. Arundel 292 (British Museum), which was written «about the middle of the thirteenth century» (MORRIS, Preface p. VII) in the Southern variety of the East Midland dialect (MORSBACH Gr. p. 8., MORRIS, Gen. & Ex., EETS. 7, p. XV). The poem itself is assigned by WRIGHT, *Reliquiae Antiquae* (London 1841-1843) p. 208, to the early part of the 13th century; and this opinion is evidently accepted by MORRIS, Gen. & Ex. p. XIII, foot-note 1.

I have used the edition published by R. MORRIS, on pp. 1-25 of his «Old English Miscellany» (EETS., Orig. Ser. 49.

London 1872). For earlier editions, etc., see MORRIS' ed. p. VII f. Cf. also MÄRTZNER, Sprachproben p. 55 ff.; E. HALLBECK : The Language of the Middle English Bestiary (Diss. Lund 1905).

88 A. No cases.

B.

1. *ben twixen* 379. *no(n) wigt* pron. 324 (: *migt* s.), 657 (: *migt* s.), 677. [Cf. *nout*, *nowt* 18, 262, etc. (5; incl. the rime : *ogt* 759); *ovt* pron. 683 (: *ðogt* s.), 703; ~ *nogt* 186 (MS. -g), 216, etc. (9; incl. the rime : *ðogt* s. 624), *ogt* 760 (: *nout*)].

2. No cases. — For *wurðlic* adj., etc., (*for*)*wurðes*, -eð sg. pres. ind., see¹ B 4.

3. *wude* s. 243, 326.

quike adj. 341. — *widue* s. 706. *witen* inf. 33.

4. (*for*)*wurðe*, -en sg. pres. opt., pl. pres. ind., inf. (OE *weorðan*) 156, 270, 338, 374; probably also (cf. §§ 9, 275) (*for*)*wurðes*, -eð 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. 75, 175, 482. — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *wurðlic* adj. 233, *wurði*, -rdi adj. 186, 447.

werk s. 444, and (with the vowel of the subst.) *werkeð* 3 sg. pres. ind. 498, 569. — *forwerpen* inf. 345, *werpeð* 3 sg. pres. ind. 327, 467.

5. *werld*, -e 120, 178, etc. (6).

6. No cases.

89 C.

1. No w-influence : cf. e. g. *wil(l)e* sg. pres. ind. & opt. 5, 14, etc. (33; incl. two rimes : ǐ), *wilen* pl. pres. ind. 476¹); *wilc* pron. 5; *swilc*, -lk 336, 440; *wimmen* s. pl. 699; *wile*, -es s. & adv. 103, 256, etc.; *swiðe* adv. 315 (: *siðen* adv.), 408, etc., *swid* adj. 462.

¹) MS. *wullen* pl. pres. ind. 414 does not belong here; it is probably, as suggested by MORRIS, a scribal error for *billen*.

2. No w-influence; cf. e. g. *sweleð* 3 sg. pres. ind. 319; *wel* adv. 727.

3. *wirm* s. 120, 158, etc. (9).

4. *word* s. 51, 330, 782.

forwurden pp. 125 probably has the vowel of the pl. pt. etc., cf. § 375.

Note.

90

wy- does not occur.

Original OE *w ũ* appears only as *wu-*: *wulues* 590 f., *wunde* s. 540 (: *grunde* s.), *wunder* s. 266, etc. (4; incl. the rime : *tunder* 536), *wune* s. »habit» 368, 638, *wunen* etc. v. 277, etc. (9). — Here also belongs the analogical *wurð* 3 sg. pt. ind. 689; probably also (cf. C 4) *forwurden* pp. 125.

Original OE *w Ǔ* appears as *wo-* in *word* (cf. C 4); and (probably, see § 374 f.) as *wu-* in *wulde*, -es pt. sg. & pl. »would» 89, 454 f., etc. (6) (cf. *sulde* pt. »should» 149, which form may however have adopted the vowel of pres. pl. *sulen.*).

VII. Genesis and Exodus.

91

Edited by R. MORRIS, EETS., Orig. Ser. 7 (London 1865; second ed. 1874). There is only one MS. known, which belongs to the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; according to MORRIS (Preface p. VI) it is written »in a hand of about 1300 A. D.»

Cf. HILMER: *Die Sprache von Genesis und Exodus*. Programm, Sondershausen 1876 (not accessible to me); cf. further, for proposed corrections to the text, etc., *Anglia* 2, 5, 6, 15, 22, *E. St.* 3, 4, 16, 17, *Archiv* 90, 107, 109.

My material has been collected from MORRIS' first edition; I have not had access to the second.

92

A.

nile 1806, 1963.

B.

1. *wigt* »brave» 863. — [Cf. *nogt* pron. & adv. 39, etc.].

2. No certain cases. — For *wurð*, -e 3 sg. pres. ind., and compounds of *wurð*, -e s. & adj., see B 4. — [Cf. the Scand. *werre* comp. 3951].

3. *wude*, -es 473, 476, 1306. — *wukes* s. pl. 2473.

swike adj. pl. 2845 (: *witterlike*). — *wite*, -en inf. & pl. pres. ind. 74, 328, etc. (9; incl. the rime : *writen* pp. 523). *sister* 766, 1170, etc. (4).

93

4. *wurðen* (OE *weorðan*) inf. 41, 53, etc. (9), pl. pres. ind. 3559, 3721, *wurð* sg. imp. 3513, -e sg. pres. opt. 155, etc. (4), -ede, -eden (weak) pt. 1528, 2011, 2946; further (if not belonging to B 2, cf. §§ 9, 275) *wurð*, -e 3 sg. pres. ind. 642, 1943, 2058, 2135, 4112.

Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *wurðen* pl. pres. ind. (of OE *weorðian*) 2463, -ed pp. 1012, 1629, 1924, -e, -ed, -ede, -eden pt. 1010, etc. (4); *wurðinge* s. 33, 133, etc. (9); *wursipe* s. 2757, -ed pp. 511; *wurðful(hed)* 2678, 3499; *wurð(e)like* adv. 1456, 1518, 2760; (*stal*)*wurði* adj. 655, 864, etc. (6); ~ *worded* pp. 262 (probably miswritten for *wur-*: there are no other cases of *wo-* for *wū-*, and altogether very few cases of -o- for OE *ū* in GE, cf. § 96).

werkes s. pl. 2838; besides (: with the vowel of the subst.) *werken* inf. & pl. pres. 850, 2799; -chen inf. 3220. *ðwert* adj. 3099; -ed pt. 1324. — *swerd*, -es s. 1307, 1327, 2843 (: *offerd* pp.), etc. (7). *werþ* sg. imp. 2803, -en inf. 3358, 3794.

5. *wale* s. 809 (: *dale* s., OE *dæl*), 1355 (: *dale*).

(*engel*)*wird* s. 1790, 4140, -rð 1786.

werld, -e, -es 38, 42, 48, etc. (51; incl. -lðe 901); ~ *werde*, -es 32, 280, 591, 1315. *weli* adj. 2528.

6. (?) *werk* s. 3902 (or perhaps — thus MORRIS — < me-

tathesis of *wreke*, -che). *werne* pres. opt., -ed pp., -ede, -eden pt. 2207, 2797, etc. (5).

For *waried* pp. 544, see § 331.

C.

94

1. No w-influence. Cf. e. g. *wile*, -en, *wilt* pres. 191, 206, etc. (rimed: $\ddot{y}$ 1520, 2531, : $\bar{i}$ 3276, 3444); *wist*, -e, -en pt. & pp. 768, 779, etc.; *quile*, -like 1404, 1572, etc. (numerous) ~ *quile* 3631 ~ *quile* 170 (: scribal error, or < OE *hwelc*); *swile*, -like 143, 147, etc. (numerous) ~ *swile* 2388 [~ *swiule* 632, no doubt scribal error]; *wimman*, -es sg. 228, 374 f., etc. (7), *wimmen* pl. 532, 653, etc. (numerous).

2. *wol* adv. (= »very»; always / an adj.) 621, 724, 1266, etc. (6) [~ *wel* 2, 3, etc., rimed 229 (: $\ddot{d}\bar{e}l$ s.), etc.; cf. *welcume*, -ede 1396, 1830].

Generally *we*- : e. g. *welkede* pt. 2107 (cf. *welken* pl. pt. »walked» 588).

3. *wurt* s. 119.

95

wirm, -e, -es s. 178, 321, etc. (5); -ede pt. 3242; ~ *wrim* s. 169, 183, etc. (5). — Cf. *bred-wrigte* s. 2077; *wrightful*, *wrigteslike* 2076, 2204 (cf. STRATM.-BRADLEY). — For *werchen* v. see B 4.

[Note. GE has generally -i-, rarely -y-, for OE $\ddot{y}$ < u + i-umlaut. Apart from evident blunders of the scribe (such as e. g. *kugriche*, -dom, -land 1258, 1260, 1262, *gugland* 1264, = »king-») and a few forms whose vowels are due to analogy (cf. GADOW, ON §§ 51, 59), -u- appears only in *burdene* s. »birth» 1467, and -e- only in *shetten* v. 1078 (this last form occurs consistently also in Prose Ps., cf. below § 124, and MORSB. Gr. § 129, Anm. 8)].

4. (bode)word, -es s. 18, 44, etc. (18; incl. -rt 73) ~ (bode)-wurd, -es 736, 2494, etc. (9; incl. -rð 3993).

worpen pp. 1943; probably also *worpen* pl. pt. ind. 2923 (: with the vowel < the pp., cf. the forms *storue* sg. pt. opt. 1958, -en pl. pt. 2975, etc., *doluen* pl. pt. 3189, *holpen* pl. pt.

3674). — Cf. (-)wrogt, -en pp. & pl. pt. 40 (:nogt pron.), 61 (:brogt), etc., (?) wrocte pt. 230 (cf. E. St. 3,279); ~ wrout pt. 156.

96 Note.

wy- does not occur (: -y- is altogether very rare in GE).

Original OE *w ũ* appears only as *wu-*: *wune* etc. s. & adj. 494 (: *sune*), etc.; *wunen* etc. v. 300, 306 (rimed : *ũ*), etc.; *wunder*, -*dren* etc. s. & v. 69, 585, etc.; *swunken* pl. pt. 1656; *wurðen* pl. pt. 286, 667, etc. (5), and (by analogy) *wurð* 1 sg. pt. ind. 2062, *wurð*, -*e* 3 sg. pt. ind. 57, 272, etc. (73; incl. -*rd* 995, 1197, 3174 : *ð* occurs very often for *d* in GE); *wunded* pp. 853; *wunden* pp. 2597. — For *worpen* pl. pt. see above C 4. — [-*o-* for original OE *ũ* is rare in GE; I have noticed only *fol* 211 (~ usual *ful* etc.), *comen* pp. 344 (rimed: *numen* pp.; ~ usual *cumen*), *nomen* pp. 3039 (rimed: *cumen* inf.; ~ usual *numen*), *domme* »dumb» 2821, *gronde* s. 874 (~ -*u-*); cf. also *coueren* »recover» 1240].

Original OE *w ǒ* appears as *wo-* — cf. C 4; further *wold*, -*e*, -*en* pt. »would» 912, 1418 f., 3620 (: *golde* s.), 3756 [cf. *nolden* 3029], *swolgen* pp. 1976, *sworen* pp. 824, etc. (6; all rimed : *boren* pp., *bi-foren*) — except in *wulde*, -*en* pt. »would» 214, 726, etc. (about 40 cases), cf. § 374.

VIII. Osbern Bokenam's Lives of Saints.

Edited by C. HORTSMANN (: E. KÖLBING's Altengl. Bibliothek I. Heilbronn 1883) from the unique MS. Arundel 327 (Brit. Mus.), which was made — as proved by a contemporary note at the end of the MS. — at Cambridge A. D. 1447 (cf. HORSTMANN op. cit. p. XII). Three different handwritings are discernible in the MS.: the general Prologue (P) and piece 1 (St. Margaret), pp. 1-36, are written by one

scribe, piece 2 (St. Anna), pp. 37-54, by another, and pieces 3-13 (: 3 St. Christina, 4 »11000 Virgines«, 5 St. Fides, 6 St. Agnes, 7 St. Dorothea, 8 St. Magdalena, 9 St. Katharina, 10 St. Cæcilia, 11 St. Agatha, 12 St. Lucia, 13 St. Elisabeth), pp. 54-266, by a third. On the whole, the three scribes seem to have followed their source very closely and do not differ much in orthography (: HORSTMANN op. cit. p. XII f.); cf. however below § 98.

According to the author's own evidence (cf. HORSTMANN op. cit. p. VII f.) the work was begun in 1443 and some of the pieces written in, or before, 1445; as the extant MS. was made in 1447, the whole work must have been composed within the short space of about 4 years. — The author further tells us that he wrote his work in the Suffolk dialect; cf. St. Agnes v. 29 f.: »And perfore spekyng & wrytyn I wyl pleynly Aftyr þe language of Suthfolk speche«. Whether his name has anything to do with the old *Bokeham* (now *Bookham*) in Surrey (cf. HORSTMANN op. cit. p. V) is, to say the least, very uncertain; as far as my investigation goes I have found nothing in his language that is incompatible with his having been a Suffolk man born and bred.

My material covers the rimes of the whole work, and the 98 orthographical forms of pp. 1-36 (: the work of the first scribe) and pp. 159-266 (: pieces 9-13, the second half of the work of the third scribe). I have chosen these parts of the work because they present, in one particular point, a remarkably consistent orthography : *w + ũ* in closed syllables is generally rendered by *wu-*, and the subst. »word« with few exceptions appears as *wurd(e)*; while the rest of the MS. often has *wo-* in these cases. On pp. 37-54, the work of the second scribe, this *w ũ*, and »word«, appear only as *wo-* (: *worthy* etc., *worshyp* etc., *wonderful*, *woman* sg.), with the exception of *wurthy* adj. 122.

It is very probable that the author himself wrote *wu-* in

these cases, in accordance with his plan to »speak and write after the Suffolk speech». The first scribe, then, simply followed his source in this point. The second scribe on the other hand almost consistently introduced *wo-*, in accordance with the usual orthography of the time. As to the third scribe, *wo-*forms of *w ũ-* in closed syllables (and of »word») are common only in the beginning of his work, growing gradually rarer; thus, only *wu-* occurs in the second half of piece 6, in piece 7 (with the exception of two cases of *worde*), and in piece 8 (except for *unworthy*, v. 1224). This state of things may be explained thus, that the scribe, perhaps influenced by the orthography of the preceding piece, started with the intention of using (the customary) *wo-* for *w ũ*, a plan which he gradually abandoned, however, growing more and more exact in his adherence to the orthography of his source. — This being so, we may be justified in inferring that such (occasional) variants as *world(e)* etc. 2/26, 694, 3/211, 318, 5/64, *wyrking* pres. p. 3/671, 6/277, 672, *warkys* s. pl. 3/887, *systyr* 4/263 (and in »Schlussnote... von anderer Hand», cf. HORSTMANN op. cit. p. XIII), *wymmen* pl. 2/128, *such* 2/19, 3/439, 5/139, *wol* I sg. pres. ind. 3/331, (?) *wolkome* adj. 8/1047, *woord* s. 3/849, which never occur on pp. 1-36, 159-266, were not found in the original MS.

An investigation of Bokenam's language, mainly based on his rimes, has been made by A. HOOFE (: Lautuntersuchungen zu Osbern Bokenam's legenden. E. St. 8,209 ff.). Cf. also C. HORSTMANN's »Einleitung».

99 A.

(*I, he, she, ye*) *nyl* 1/235, 264, 679, 1042, 11/404; (*þou*) *nylt* 9/955, 12/303.

B.

I. *be-twix* 1/710; (*be*) *twyx* 1/986, 1058, 9/755, 10/485, 13/1101. *wy(c)hte* s. (OE *gewiht*) 12/365, 407. *wyht* s. (OE

wiht 13/677 (: *knyght* s.) [cf. *ow(h)t* pron. 9/924 (: *browht* pp.), 12/190; *now(h)t*, *no(u)ht* pron. & adv. 1/17, 24, 447, etc. (numerous; incl. rimes : *wrowt*, *-ouht* pt. & pp., *browt*, *-ouht* pp., *boht* pp., *þouht* s., etc.), ~ *not* adv. P 111, 159, etc. (numerous), incl. *not-for-than* P 212, 9/447, etc., *not-wyth-standyng* 9/280)].

2. *wurst* sup. 12/62 (: *adust* adj., < Lat. *adūstus*) ~ *werst* 13/813 [cf. *wers* comp. 3/1015].

wyrshēpyst 2 sg. pres. ind. 11/209 [may have been introduced by the scribe (cf. § 98) for the usual *wur-*, *wor-* (see B 4)]. — [Cf. *whyrled* pt. 5/23].

For *wurth* adj., etc., see B 4.

3. *sustyr* 10/347, 507, 12/121 [cf. *systyr* above § 98]. 100
wode s. 1/986. — *wokys* s. pl. 13/881, [4/169].

qwyke adj. pl. 9/476; ~ *quekyn* v. 10/782, 793, 796. — *wy-dewede*, *wydewod* s. 13/64, 684; ~ *wedwe*, *-wys* s. 9/970, 974. — *wet*, *-e*, *-yn*, *-yth* inf., pl. imp. & pres. ind. 1/225, 880 (: *Mar-grete*), 9/146, 10/765, 12/356.

The *e*-forms probably have $\bar{e} < \check{i}$ in open syllables [cf. e. g. *lewyn* v. 12/296 (~ *-y*), *lely* s. 1/209, *sekyr* adj. 1/226, etc. (~ *-y*), *wrete*, *-yn* pp. 1/41 etc. (rimed : *swete* adj. 1/1088) (~ *-y*)], as *we-* does not appear for *wi* in originally closed syllable (for *weling* pres. p., cf. § 102). — Similarly the *wo*-forms may have $\bar{o} < \check{u}$ in open syllables.

4. Here may be given (cf. § 9) *wurth* adj. 12/280, (*un-*, 101 *thank-*) *wurthy* adj., *-yest* sup., *-yly* adv., *-ynesse* s. P 34, 134, 9/335, 363, etc. (20), *wurshepe*, *-shype*, *-chepe*, *-sype*, etc. s. & v. 1/22, 153, 263, etc. (25; incl. *vur-* 12/130) ~ *worshype* etc. v. 11/561, 605, 13/121, 137, 982 (: *wo-* for *wū*, cf. above § 98) [~ *wyr-*, cf. above B 2].

werk, *-ys* s. P 2 (: *clerk*), 21, 27, etc. (29; incl. 4 rimes: *clerk*, and the rime : *merk* s. 6/124) [cf. *warkys* s. pl. above § 98]; further (: with the vowel of the subst.) *werkying* pres. p. 1/16, 522, 10/435, 12/14. *ouerthwerte* 9/737 (: *herte* s.). —

swerd, -e s. 1/317, 458, 736, etc. (6; incl. the rime : *fērd* pl. pt. 12/460).

5. *werd*, -e, -ys s. 1/945, 9/305, 10/95, etc. (18), *werdly* adj. 9/92, 11/90, etc. (6); *werldys* gen. sg. 9/208, *werldly* adj. 9/7 (-l- in both cases probably introduced by the scribe); ~ *wardys* gen. sg. 13/472 (probably not original). [Cf. *world* etc. above § 98].

6. No cases.

102 C.

1. *wumman* etc. sg. 1/141, 9/225, 319, etc. (26); *wummen* etc. pl. 1/122, 344, etc. (11). [Cf. *wymmen* pl. above § 98].

Otherwise no w-influence. Cf. e. g. *wil* sg. & pl. pres. P 46, 73, etc. ~ *wyl*, -e, *wylt* sg. & pl. pres. P 3, 33, 623, 1/33, etc., *wyln* 1 pl. 10/765 [cf. *wol*, see § 98; cf. also *weling* pres. p. 6/204, 8/487, either < OE *w e -* (cf. SIEVERS Gr. § 428 Anm. 4) or more probably, with $\bar{e} < \check{y}$ in open syllable (: *l < ll* in weak stress, or from other forms of the verb)]; *wich* pron. 1/89 ~ *wych* P 5, 7, 14, etc.; *swych* 1/165, 175, etc. [cf. *such*, see § 98]; *why* P 4, 22, etc.

2. No w-influence : cf. e. g. *swelle* inf. 13/534 (: *helle*); *swelwyd* pt. & pp. 1/473, 485, 538; *welke* inf. »wither» 10/284. [Cf. *wolkome* adj., above § 98].

3. No cases. For *werkyng* pres. p., see B 4. [Cf. *wyrkyng*, see § 98].

4. *wurd*, -e, -is, -ys s. P 5, 26, 1/266, 351, etc. (61) ~ *wourdys* pl. 9/880, 10/632, 13/17 ~ *word*, -ys 1/1064, 11/225, 13/643, 972 [cf. *woord* 3/849, see above § 98]. — Cf. *wrowt*, -ou(h)t, -oght pt. & pp. 1/937 (: *nowt* adv.), 960 (: *brout* pp.), etc.

103 Note regarding the orthography of the MS. (i. e. HORSTMANN pp. 1-36, 159-266; cf. above §§ 97, 98).

w $\check{y}$ is very often written *wy*-.

Original OE *w ũ* appears as *wu*-, as *wou*- (: only / nd),

and (in originally open syllables, where $\ddot{u} > \bar{o}$) as *wo-*: *wul* s. 13/516; *wuluy*s pl. 1/252; *wunne*, -*en* pt. & pp. 10/866, 876, 13/140; *wundyr* etc. s. & v. P 133, 1/265, etc. (9); *wundys* s. pl. »wounds» 13/882; ~ *wounde*, -*ys* s., -*yd* pp. 1/445, 9/631, etc. (incl. rimes : *stounde* s., *confounde* v., *grounde* s.); ~ *won*, -*e* adj. »used» 9/917, 13/284, 898.

Original OE *w* $\ddot{o}$ appears as *wu-* ~ *wou-* ~ *wo-*: cf. C 4; further *wolde* etc. pt. P 183, 1/154, etc. (cf. *molde* pt. 1/152, 823, 9/113, etc.).

c. London texts.

104

1. The Proclamation of Henry III., A. D. 1258 (MS. H).

This valuable specimen of the London dialect has often been printed; cf. KÖRTING, Grundriss p. 79, foot-note. Cf. also MORSEBACH, Schriftsprache p. 161 ff. — My citations refer to MÄTZNER, Sprachproben II p. 54 ff.

A. No cases.

105

B.

2. *iwersed* pp. 54/12.

3. *Wirehestr'* 56/7. — [*witen* pl. pres. opt. 54/3].

4. *worþnesse* s. 54/5.

1. 5. 6. No cases.

C.

1. No *w*-influence appears; cf. e. g. *willen* pl. pres. ind. 54/3, 12, 56/1.

2. No w-influence appears.
3. No cases.
4. *worden* s. pl. 56/21.

106 Note.

wy-, *wu-* do not appear.

Original OE *w ð* appears as *wo-*: cf. C 4; further *isworene* pp. 56/5.

107

II. Chaucer.

My material has been collected from the first 4422 verses (General Prologue - Cook's Tale) of the *Canterbury Tales* in the Ellesmere MS., as printed by the Chaucer Society (I have used the 6-Text edition, by FURNIVALL, Chaucer Soc., First Series I, 14); and from the Rime-Indexes to the *Canterbury Tales* (by CROMIE, Chaucer Soc., First Ser. 45, 47), *Troilus and Criseyde* (by SKEAT, Chaucer Soc., First Ser. 84), and the *Minor Poems* (by ISABEL MARSHALL & LELA PORTER, Chaucer Soc., First Ser. 80).

For the genuineness of those MS. forms which are not proved by the rimes, cf. J. FRIESHAMMER: *Die sprachliche Form der Chaucerschen Prosa*, Halle a S. 1910 (MORSBACH, *Studien* XLII). As pointed out in that work, many forms of this kind (cf. e. g. *such*, below C 1) cannot be ascribed to Chaucer; while others (cf. e. g. *werken* etc. v., below B 4), supported by the joint evidence of the best MSS., should certainly be accepted as variants actually found in Chaucer's language.

The numbers 1-4422 refer to the verses of the *Canterbury Tales* (as numbered in the 6-Text ed.); the quotations from

the Rime-Indexes, when given in full, I have kept unaltered, only prefixing CT. (Cant. Tales), Tr. (Troilus & Criss.), and the respective titles of the Minor Poems (MP.).

A.

108

nyste pt. 3414, 4225, 4300. — *nylle* 1 sg. pres. ind. : *wille* s. CT. 573/1462.

B.

1. *bitwix*, -e, -en prep. 277, 880, 1180, etc. (14), *bitwyxen* 2132. *wight*, *wyght* s. (OE *wiht*) 71 (: *knyght*), 280, 326, etc. (numerous); further many rimes : -*ight*, -*yght*. [Cf. *aught* pron. (rimed : *naught*) ~ *ought* (rimed : -*ought*); *naught* pron. & adv. (rimed -*aught*) ~ *nought* adv. (rimed : -*ought*), *noght* pron. & adv. (very common; rimed : -*oght*), *nat* adv. (usual form), *not* adv. 2576]. *wighte* s. (OE *gewiht*) 2145 (: *brighte* adj.), 2520 (: *fighte* v.), 4086; and other rimes : -*ighte*, -*yghte*. *wight* adj. : -*ight*, -*yght* CT. (3).

2. *wors*, -e comp. 1224, 1348, 4350 (: *curs* s.); *worste* sup. 109 1614; further *worse* comp. : *corse* v. »curse» CT. 444/1308.

Only in rime (as far as my material goes) appears the variant *wers*, -e comp. 3174 (: *reherce* v.), 3733 (: *ers* s.), 3872 (: *openers* s.); further *werse* : *reherce* CT. 495/600, *werse* : *aduerse*, *diuerse* Tr. IV. 171, *wers* : *peruers* Dethe of Blaunche 23/814; and finally Tr. III. 6 *worse* : *univcrsite* (where the original evidently had *werse* : *universe*). — The *wer*-form can of course be explained as Kentish (< wŷr-) as is done e. g. by MORSBACH, *Schriftsprache* p. 156; but as Sho. and Ay. have only *wor*- (see §§ 232, 242) and, further, Chaucer also uses the unmistakably Scand. *werre* comp. [rimed : *werre* s. Dethe of Blaunche 18/616], the form *werse* in Chaucer is no doubt of Scand. origin (cf. further §§ 263, 267).

For *worth*, -y adj., etc., see B 4.

3. *wode*, -es s. 1422, 1522, 1618, etc. (7); *wodebynde* s. 110 1508; *woodecraft* s. 110.

suster sg., *sustren* pl. 871, 972, 1019, etc. (7) ~ *soster* (MS. Hengwrt *sus*-) 3486 (: *pater noster*).

wowke s. 1539 (»vermutlich keine Chaucersche Form», TEN BRINK 35 a; MS. Hengwrt *wike*) ~ *wykes* pl. 1850; *wyke*: *syke* v. »sigh», *pyke* v. Tr. II.62, II. 182.

quyk, -e adj. 306, 1015; (*quyk siluer* 629); *quyked* pt. 2335. *twies* adv. 4348 (2); *twyes*: *Teupardyes* Dethe of Blaunche 19/665. — *wydwē* s. 253, 1171. *wite*, -en inf., pl. pres. ind. »know» 1260, 1794, 3555 [*wityng* pres. p. 1611]; rimed : *writen* pp. CT. 390/1890, 456/1740.

- III 4. Here may be given (cf. § 9) *worth* adj. 182, 785, 1558; *worthy* adj., -ily adv., -ynesse s. 43, 47, 50, 64, etc. (28); *worshiþe* s., -ipful adj. 1435, 1904, 1912, *worshiþe* v. 2251; *worstede* s. 262.

Southwerk n. pr. 20, 718, 3140; *werk*, -es s. 479 (: *clerk*), 3308, 3311 (: *clerk*), 4337 (: *derk*); further rimes : *clerk*, *hawberk*, *merk* s., *derke* adj. CT. (9), Tr. (1), MP. (pp. 11, 104) (4). — Here belongs the analogical *werk*, -en, -es imp. sg., inf., pl. pres. ind. 779, 3131, 3528, etc. (6) [for *werche* inf., see C 3].

sward, -es s. 112, 558, 1215, etc. (18; incl. the rime: *herd* pp. 1598); further rimes : *berd* s., *herd* pp. CT. (4). *querne* s.: *werne* v. House of Fame 230/1797.

For *ouerthwart* adv. 1991, cf. § 308.

5. *world*, -es s., -ly adj. 176, 187, 282, etc. (33).

wele s. 895, 1272 (: *heeel* s. »health»), 2673 (?), 3101 (: *heeel*).

6. *werne* inf.: *laterne* s. CT. 343/334; *werne* inf.: *descerne*, *eterne*, *yerne* v. & adj. Tr. (3); *werne*: *querne* House of Fame 230/1797.

C.

- II2 1. An influence of w- appears in the forms *womman* (-ly, -hede) sg. 459, 1101, 1157, etc. (9), *wommen* pl. 213, 217, 921, etc. (8); as far as my material goes (cf. also FRIESHAMMER pp. 23, 119) only *wo*-forms are used in the Ellesmere MS., no doubt in accordance with Chaucer's language. — Further

in *wol*, -e pl. and 1 & 3 sg. pres. ind. 42, 661, 723, etc. (97), *woln* 3 pl. 2121, 2122, 2123, *wolt(ow)* 2 sg. 1544, 1595, 1624, etc. (8) [~ *wiltow* 2 sg. 1156, 3718; further *wilt* 2 sg.: *bilt*, *gilt*, *spilt* »An A. B. C.» 134/181 (*wiltow* 4040, and *wil* 1 & 3 sg. 4029, 4036, 4041, 4085, 4111, 4133, 4178, 4186, 4209, belong to the speech of the two »yonge clerkes» from the North)], which *wo*-forms, as a rule at least, are probably original.

All other words have only *wi*-, *wy*-, except for the isolated *such*, -e 360, 1985, 2485 (MS. Hengwrt in all cases *swich*), which, being a later London form, has probably been introduced by the scribe [~ *swich*, -e 3, 243, 247, 313, etc. (43)]. Cf. e. g. *which*, -e 4, 40, 161, 568, etc. (very numerous; only form, except for *whilk* 4078, 4171, in the language of the »clerkes», cf. above); *wil*, -lle, ~ *wy*-, s. 1104 (: *fil* pt. »fell»), 1317 (: -*fill* inf. »-fill»), 1845, etc.; *wilnen* etc. v. 1609, etc.; *wiste*, -est pt. 224, 228, etc.; *while* s. & adv.; etc.

2. No w-influence; cf. e. g. *swelle*, -eth inf. & 3 sg. pres. 113 2743, 2752 (rimed : *ë*); *whelpe* s. 257 (: *helpe*), 2627; *whelkes* s. pl. 632; *swelte* 1 sg. pres. ind., pt. sg. 1356, 3703. — For *swalowe* inf.: *holowe* adj. pl. House of Fame 209/1036 [:originally of course *swol*]; *swalowe* probably has the vowel of the pt. sg., cf. POGATSCHER E. St. 27,272], see § 356.

3. *wyerd* s. pl.: *hierdes* s. pl. Tr. III. 89. — *wirche* inf. 2759, 3308, 3430, 3664 (all rimed: *chirche* s.); further *wirche*: *chirche* CT: (4), House of Fame 193/474; ~ *werche* inf.: *cherche* CT. 546/545. The *we*-form in a y be an original (Kentish) form, but as it seems to be very rare in Chaucer (cf. *werken* etc. v. B 4; further FRIESHAMMER p. 17 f.), it is probably a (Kentish) form introduced by the scribe. — Cf. *wrighte*, -es s. 614, 3143.

4. *word*, -es s. 304, 313, 498, etc. (very numerous; incl. the rimes : *bord* s. 3439, 3586, : *hoord* s. 4405); further rimed : *bord* s., *lord* s., *hoord* s., *toord* s., *recorde*, *accorde* CT. (11), MP. (pp. 21 f., 114, 164) (3). — Cf. (y)*wroght(e)* pp. & pt. 196, 367,

497, etc. (12; incl. 2 rimes: *-oght(e)*); further numerous rimes (-)wro(u)g^ht(e) etc.: *-o(u)g^ht(e)*.

114 Note.

w^ü is often written *wy*.

Original OE w^ü appears as *wo-*, and (only / nd) as *wou-* (*wu-* does not occur as far as my material goes; cf. also FRIESHAMMER p. 23): *wolle* s., *wolf* s., *wone* s. »habit», *wont* adj., *wonyng(e)* pres. p. & s., *woneden* pl. pt., *swonken* pp., (y)wonne(n) pp., *wonder*, *-ly*, *wondred* pt.; ~ *wounde(s)* s., *-ed* pp.

Original OE w^ö appears as *wo-*, and (once only) as *wou-*: cf. C 4; further *swore*, (y)sworn pp. 810 (:fore), 1088 (:born), etc., *wold*, *-e*, *-en*, *-est* pt. 27, 144, 192, etc. (incl. the rime: *olde* adj. 2040) [cf. *molde* pt. 903, 1024, etc.]; ~ *would* pt. 812.

115

III. London Charters, Wills, etc.

The following material has been collected from MORSBACH's treatise »Über den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache» (Heilbronn 1888). I have not had recourse to the texts themselves, except for the Returns of the London Gilds (G¹, G², G³), EETS. 40, pp. 3-13. — The greatest interest attaches of course to the »Londoner Urkunden», which present the purest London dialect; the cases from the »Staatsurkunden» and the »Parlamentsurkunden» are given below in square brackets.

The documents used by MORSBACH generally belong to the period 1384/85-1430; but they also include some wills dating from 1431-1439, and one of A. D. 1454.

The abbreviations found below are those used by MORSBACH op. cit.

A.

nel U.

B.

1. [*betwix* Pr. (2), L (2), Gl., Sec., Reg.; *betwix* Pr. (2), Nom. 1423]. *wighte* s. (OE *gewiht*) G² 8/5, G³ 11/7; ~ *weyght* W 114/4, 5 [Gr.³ (2), Gr.⁴ (2); *weight* Gr² (2)] (cf. § 256). — Cf. *oght* pron. U; [*o(u)ght* Tr., Pr. (3)]; *no(u)ght*, *nou3t* ~ *nat*, *not* [»Staatsurk.« have *not*, rarely *nat*, *noght*; »Parlamentsurk.« *nought*, *not* (never *nat*)].

2. *worst* sup. W 3/12. — For *worth*, -y s. & adj., etc., see B 4.

3. *wode* s. W 91/11.

117

[*woke* s. Nom. 1423] ~ *weke* W 3/10, 11; [Reg.] ~ *wyk(e)* G¹ 5/6, 13, G² 7/2, G³ 9/19.

suster sg. W 133/3; G¹ 4/12, 22; G² 6/4, 8, 7/7, 17, 8/16; G³ 9/7, 11, 10/4, 8, 20; *sustren* pl. G¹ 3/6, 17, 21, 4/19, 5/15; G² 7/11; ~ *sister* W 67/14.

wedue W 15/18; *wedewe* W 16/2.

wetyn inf. W 3/7, [*wete* inf. Resp. 1427; (*wetingly* Resp. 1423)]; ~ *wyte* inf. M 15, 43, [*wyt* inf. Pr.]; (*unwytyn* M 53; [*wittingly* Reg.]). [*wote* 1 pl. pres. L has $\bar{o}$ from the sg. (: MORSBACH op. cit. p. 150)].

These *we*-forms (*weke*, *wedue*, *wetyn*, etc.) may all be due to the change of $\bar{i}$ > $\bar{e}$ in open syllables (cf. LUICK St. p. 201 ff.); cf. such forms as *leue* v. »live», *hedir*- »hither», *sekerly*, *y-wrete* etc. pp. (MORSB., Schriftsprache pp. 33, 63). Cf. further § 288.

4. Here may be given (cf. § 9) (*peny*-, *sheling*)*worth* s. (& 118 adj. ?), (*un*)*worthy*, -*iest* adj. U (6), M 1, 18, 23, »u. öfters»; W 2/3, 17/15, 17, 133/26; [Pr. »öfters»; Gr.¹; Resp. 1423]; *wors(c)hip(e)*, -*schep*e s., -*ful(l)* adj. M 52, W 11/5, 14, 15, etc., G¹ 3/1, G² 7/14, 28, 8/7, G³ 10/15, 31, 11/9; [Tr. (2), Pr., D, L; Gr.², Gr.⁴; Schied. »öfters«]; [*worsship* s. Gr.³]; *woshup* s.

W 132/21; [*worship*, -*ip(p)ed* v. Pr. (2), L]; ~ *wurthy* adj. W 133/8, *wur(s)shipful* W 132/1, 21; *wurstede* s. W 133/6.

werk, -*is*, -*ys* s. W 99/11, etc. (often in W), *wherk* W 81/9; ~ *warkis*, -*es* s. W 21/25 (:A. D. 1413), 105/1, 106/3 (:both A. D. 1436).

5. [*world* s. Pr., Schied. (3)]; *wordly* adj. W 132/7.

[*weell* s. (OE *wela*) Nom. 1423].

6. [*werune* inf. (OE *wiernan* etc.) Com.]

119 C.

1. *womman* sg. M 34, W 11/25, G² 7/9, G³ 10/6; *wom(m)en* pl. M 33, W 1/14, 11/9 [~ *wymen* pl. Reg.]. — *wol*, *woll(e)* sg. pres. U, W 11/2, 65/4 («neben *will* 65/11, 66/6 in derselben Urk.»), 81/6, 10, 82/22, 99/23, »u. öfters»; I »oft»; *wol(e)*, *woll* pl. M 42, W 80/7, 81/17; 66/7, 89/15 («neben häufigem *will*»); [*wol* sg. Tr. (5), D, O (»öfters»); *wol(le)* sg. Gr.¹, Schied. (2); *wol*, *woll(e)* pl. Pr. (3), O, Gl., D (2), L (2), Tr.; Resp. 1427, Reg., Schied.]; ~ *wull* sg. W 105/1 (~ *wol(l)*, *wolle* in the same document 105/9, etc. (12)), *wul(l)* pl. W 133/13, 134/11 (~ *wil* pl. 134/13); ~ *wel* W 67/10, 17/20, M 43 (: MORSBACH op. cit. p. 64: »geht mit ziemlicher Sicherheit schon auf ae. Nebenformen mit *e* ... zurück»); ~ *wil*, *will(e)*, *wyl(l)*, the usual form in the »Londoner Urkunden», frequent also in the other documents (cf. MORSB. op. cit. pp. 64, 65, 66). — *such*, -*e* is the only form in the »Londoner Urkunden»: e. g. U (9), M 9, 11, etc. (11), W 134/12, G¹ 4/16, 5/3; it is the usual form also in the other documents: [Tr. (14), Pr., D; Resp. 1404, Respp. 1425 (4), Resp. 1427(3), Nom. 1422(3), Nom. 1423(3), Sec., Schied. (6), Talb.; ~ *swiche* O (6), Gl. (2), *swiche*, *swyche* Reg. (5); ~ *syche* Pr. (3), *siche* Reg.].

On the other hand, there are no -*u*-forms of »which»: *which(e)* U (4); »sehr oft in M; in G¹, G², G³ und in den Testamenten», [Tr. »sehr oft»; D (2), O »öfters»; L, Gl.; *whiche*, *whyche* »stets in Pr.»; Resp. 1404 (2), Resp. 1427 »öfters»].; ~ *w(h)eche* W 83/2, 97/11; W 2/2, 4, 6; I (2), (< OE -*e*-, according to

MORSBACH op. cit. p. 64). All other words belonging here have only *wi-*, *wy-*.

2. No *w*-influence. — *bygwothin* pp. (»Londoner Urk.«) is due to »Anlehnung an die Klasse IV.« (MORSB. op. cit. p. 139).

3. *werche* inf. G³ 9/20.

4. *word* s. (MORSB. op. cit. p. 64: = $\bar{o}$).

Note.

120

$\bar{w}i$ is often written *wy-*; cf. MORSBACH op. cit. pp. 32, 38, 47, 49.

Original OE $w\ddot{u}$ appears as *wo-*, in *wolle* s., *-felle* s. I, [Respp. 1423, 1425, Gr², Gr.³, Gr.⁴], [*wonder* s. Tr.], *wont* pp. W 81/12, [Pr.].

Original OE $w\ddot{o}$ appears only as *wo-*: cf. *word* C 4; further *swore(n)*, *sworn(e)* pp. (passim), *wolde(n)* pt. (passim).

d. West Midland texts.

121

Since the existence of an $\ddot{u}$ -vowel in the ME WMidl. dialect is still a matter of dispute — cf. on one hand MORSB. Gr. § 7, on the other SWEET HES §§ 662, 664 and, lately, JORDAN, GRM II, p. 129 f. — I have found it necessary to enter into this question here.

OE (and Scand.) $\ddot{y}$ ¹⁾ appears as follows in Gaw., Prose Ps., and Myrc (words belonging to groups B 2 and C 3 are not included):

¹⁾ I include words with OE *i-* or *u-*variants by the side of *-y-*. — Words whose OE origin is uncertain are marked by (?).

122 G a w .

The usual form is *-y-*, *-i-* (both = $\tilde{i}$); thus exclusively *hvde* s. (2), *hyden* inf. (1), *pryde* s. (4; & 1.: *syde* s.), *rimed* pt. (1), *kynde* s. (numerous; incl. 2 rimes: 1), *mynde* s. (numerous), *fyre*, *-i-* s. (7), *myre* s. (1), *liþernes* s. (1), and the Scand. *lyþen* v. (1); further *þrich* s. (1), *byzt* s. (1), *dryztyn* s. (3), *bye* v. (1), *brygge* s. (5), *rygge* s. (2), *kyng* etc. (passim), *þynk* v. (1); *did*, *-dden* pt. (2), *hid* pt. (1), *kyd* etc. pp. (5), (?) *vn-rydelich* adj. (1), (?) *glyfte* pt. (1), *lyfte* adj. (4), *lyfte* s. (2), (?) *dille* »dull» (1), *fylle* v. (2), *hille*, *-y-* s. (7), *kylled* pp. (1), *sille* s. (1), *fylþe* s. (2), *gilt*, *gylld* adj. (3), *dyn* etc. s. & v. (5), *kyn* s. (2), *synne* s. (1), *wynne* s. (7; incl. 1 1.: $\tilde{i}$), (?) *mynne* etc. v. (passim), *mynged* pt. (1), *-clypped* pt. (1), *hypped* pt. (1), *kyrf* s. (1), *kyrk* s. (1); *fyrst*, *-i-* (numerous), *kyrtel* s. (1), *kysses* etc. v. (passim), *lyst*, *-e* pres. & pt. (7), *lystily* »quickly» (2), *lysten* v. »listen» (2), (?) *tryst* v., *-yly* (3), *dit* pp. (1), *brit(te)ned* etc. v. (4), *knitten* v. (4), *lyte* »little, few» (5) ~ *lit(t)el*, *-y-* (13), *kyth* s. (2); and the Scand. *biges*, *-gged* v. »build» (2), *lyfte* v. (passim).

- 123 Only *-u-* (*v-*), *-o-* appears in (?) *blussh* etc. s. & v. (4), (?) *stubble* s. (1), *mulne* s. (1), *vmbe(-)* prep. & adv. (passim), *lur* s. (3), *spur(y)ed*, *vnsþurd* pp. (3), *stures* pres. (1), (?) *burde(s)* s. (13), *burþe* s. »birth» (1), *gorde* pp. »girt» (1) ~ *gurde* s. & pp. (2), *þurled* pt. (1), *sturn*, *-e*, *-ly* adj. & adv. (8), *fust* s. (1; probably with shortened vowel, as there are no certain cases of $\bar{u}$ < OE $\bar{y}$, cf. further KNIGGE *Gaw.* p. 47), *put* v. (2); and the Scand. *bur* s. (5).

-u- (*v-*), *-o(u)-* by the side of *-i-*, *-y-* (and *-e-* in *mery*) occurs in a number of words: *muckel* (1), *much(e)* (numerous) ~ *miche*, *mych* (2); *vch* etc. (numerous) ~ *iche* (2), *ilk(e)* (numerous); *ruche* etc. v. (2) ~ *ry-*, *ri-* (6); *bult* pt. (1) ~ *bylde* inf. (1); *dunt* s. (2) ~ *dy-*, *di-* (10); *munt* s. & pt. (2) ~ *my-* s. & pt. (4); (?) *bruny* s. (3) ~ *bryne* (2); *busy* etc. (3) ~ *bi-*, *by-* (3); (?) *gordes* pres. »spurs» (1) ~ *gy-* (1); *gordel* s. (3), *gur-* (1) ~ *gir-*

(2); (?) *torne* etc. v. (4), *tour-* (1), *tur-* (2) ~ *tyr-* (1); *mury-* (3) ~ *my-*, *mi-* (10) ~ *me-* (6).

Finally, only *e-* occurs in *evel* (1), and *-e-* ~ *-i-*, *-y-* in *mirþe*, *myr-* (6) ~ *mer-* (7) [~ *myer-* (1), probably a merely orthographic combination of both forms by the scribe].

Note. *-u-* for OE $\ddot{u}$ occurs only in the isolated *uf* »if» 2343, *wruſled* pp. 2191, *hult* »hilt» 1594. The first of these cases is certainly, the second probably, miswritten by the scribe for *(-)i-* or *(-)y-*; and *hult* (as well as *heolte* in La-3amon, cf. STRATM.-BRADLEY) may be due to the influence of the OFr. *heute* etc. (: cf. *dulful* 1517, *mute* »meute» 1451, 1720).

Prose Ps.

124

OE (and Scand.) $\ddot{y}$ generally appears as *-i-*, *-y-* (= $\ddot{y}$); cf. HIRST Prose Ps. §§ 8, 16, 39. — The exceptions are few:

-u- occurs in *fur* s. (32; only form), *mund* s. (1) (~ usual *my-*), *brunstone* s. (1), *smullen* inf. (1), *sules* »cardines» (1), *(v)uch* »each» (2) (~ usual *ich* »each», »same»); further, beside *-e-*, in *hulles* s. pl. (1) ~ *helles* (1) (~ usual *-i-*, *-y-*), *þrust* s. »thirst» (1) ~ *þrest* s., *-and* pres. p. (2), *muchel* (1) ~ *meche* etc. (4) (~ usual *mi-*, *my-*). *-e-* occurs further in *kende* s. (1) (~ usual *-i-*, *-y-*), *euel* adj. (2) (~ *-i-*, *-y-*), *shetten* etc. v. »shut» (6; only form), *beriels* s. (1) (~ *-i-*, *-y-*), *frest* »first» (1) (~ usual *first*), *hed* pp. »hid» (1) (~ *-i-*), *lefted* pt. (2; ~ *-i-*, *-y-*) [cf. (?) the forms *ʒengþe* s. »youth» (3) (~ *-i-*, *-y-*), *ʒengnes* s. (1), *ʒenge* adj. (1) (~ regular 30-].

Note. *-u-* is used for OE $\ddot{u}$ only in the probably miswritten *fundynges* s. pl. 76/12 (~ *fyn-*).

Myrc.

125

OE (and Scand.) $\ddot{y}$ (incl. $\ddot{y}$ < early shortening of $\bar{y}$) generally appears as *-y-* (= $\ddot{y}$); thus exclusively *kyng* etc. (3; incl. 1 rime: $\ddot{y}$), *forþynkeþ* pres. (1), *mykele* (1) ~ *myche*

(numerous; rimed: *-lyche* (2), : *sychē* pron. (1), : *pytche* s. (MS. *putte*) (1)), (*a-*)*by(gg)e* v. »bye» (3), *dyde(st)* pt. (passim), *lyfte* adj. (1), *knylle* v. (1; rimed: *ī*), (*-*)*kynne* s. (3; all rimed : *synne* s.) & (*what*) *skynnes* (2), (?) *mynne* v. (10; all rimed: *synne* s. & v.), *mynge* v. (1; r.: *syngē* »sing»), *synne* etc. s., *synne*, *syngen*, etc. v. (numerous; incl. rimes: *mynne* v. (10), : *mynne* s. (2), : *kynne* s. (3), : *ī* (6), : *kenne* v. »can (1), : *henne* adv. (1), *dynt* s. (1; r.: *mynt* s.), *mynt* s. (1; r.: *dynt*), *clyppeynge* s. (1), *chyrche* s. (numerous; rimed : *yrke* v. (1), : *worche* v. (1)), *fyrst* -e (7), *kys*, -ssynge (2; incl. 1 rime : *ī*), *bysy* etc. (4), (?) *tryst* s. »trust» (1), *knyt* v. (1).

But *-u-* (*v-*) appears alone in *hud* pp. (< *ŷ* < *ȳ*) (1), *hule* etc. v. (2), *gult* pp., -y adj. (3; rimed : *I-pult* pp. (1)), *I-pult* pp. (1; rimed : *gult*), *fulpe* s. (< *ŷ* < *ȳ*) (2), *burye* etc. v. (2), *lust* s., -y adj. (5; rimed : *prest* s. (2)), *I-trust* pp. (1), *put(ten)* v. (numerous; rimed : *luyte* (1), : *lutte* (1), : *cotte* v. »cut» (1)); further *v-* ~ *y-* appears in *vch(e)* »each» (13) ~ (*th*)*ylke* adj. (7); and *-u-* ~ *-e-* in (?)*turne* etc. v. (9; rimed : *lerne* (1), : *zerne* adv. (2)) ~ *terne* (1; r.: *lerne*) [cf. also *lutte* ~ *luyte*, below].

* Only *e-* occurs in *evyle*, -*el(e)* (9; rimed : *wele* s. (1)) ~ *el* 365 (: *del* »devil»); and *-e-* by the side of *-y-* in *stered* pt. (1) ~ *styred* pp. (2).

- 126 OE *ȳ* appears as *-y-* in (*-*)*kynde* s. (4; rimed : *ī* (1), : *mynde* s. (1)), and *mynde* s. (5; rimed : *ī* (2), : *kynde* s. (1)); otherwise as *-uy-* : *huyde* etc. v. (3; rimed : *pruyde* s. (1)), *pruyde* s. (6; rimed : *huyde* (1)), *tuyne* etc. v. (2), *fuyre* s. (2; rimed : *ī* (1)), *huyre* s. (2; rimed : *ī* (1)). Here also belongs *luyte*, -*el* »little» (12; rimed : *putte* v. (1), : *ī* (2)) [*~lutte* 1547 (: *putte* v.) with shortened vowel].

Note. *-u-*, *-uy-* are never used for OE *ī*. Cf. on the other hand *-uy-* in the Fr. words *fruyt* s. 425, *dyspuyte* 673.

The numerous *e*-forms in Prose Ps. no doubt derive directly 127
from (OE) *y* (: there are practically no cases of *-e-* for OE *ī*,
cf. HIRST Prose Ps. §§ 5, 13), but they have probably to
some extent been introduced by the scribe (cf. § 137). The
e-forms in Gaw. and perhaps those in Myrc may also be deriv-
ed from *ȳ* (< *y*); cf. below § 135, and MORSB. Gr. § 114 f.

As to the *u*-forms (etc.), they are in my opinion, even af- 128
ter due allowance has been made for such forms as may come
from OE *u*-variants, quite sufficient proof of an *ü*-vowel <
OE *ȳ* in the ME WMidl. dialect. The fact that OE *ī*
practically never appears as *u* (etc.) in these texts makes
it evident that the *u*-forms (etc.) < OE *ȳ* are really
due to a pronunciation with *ü* (or *u*), either still used by
the scribes in question, or at any rate used in their
dialect (or in that represented by the texts) not very
long before their time. Further, since these *u*-forms (etc.)
are used in all three texts (as well as in other WMidl. texts,
cf. JORDAN GRM II p. 130, KNIGGE Gaw. pp. 29 f.,
47). it can hardly be supposed that these forms should re-
present the pronunciation or dialect of the scribes only, and
not the dialect of the texts. — Another proof of a WMidl.
ü-vowel < OE *ȳ* is perhaps to be found in Myrc's rimes
use v. »use»: OE *ī* & OFr. *i* (: *wyse* s. 569, *gyse* s. »gui-
se» 1032, *vyce* »vice» 1207), which cannot be correct unless
they are based on a pronunciation of »use» with *ī*, due either
to a phonetic development of OFr. *ü* or to the analogy
of the variation *ī* ~ *ü* in words with OE *ȳ*; but since
Myrc is not a very careful rimer (: cf. e. g. *thus* adv. : *a-mys*
adv. 596, 610) it is possible that the rimes in question
were phonetically incorrect (*ü* : *ī*).

On the other hand the occasional rimes OE *ȳ* : OE *ī* 129
and the decided preponderance of *-i-*, *-y-*forms (cf. above)
evidently imply an alternative ME WMidl. *i*-vowel <

OE $\check{y}$. The date when and the circumstances under which this i-variant began to appear in the WMidl. dialect are impossible to decide, because there are no early texts extant in this dialect; but it seems very probable that this -i- made its first appearance and became generally used earlier in the Eastern parts of the dialect (: which were nearer the EMidl.) than in the Western ones. If this supposition is correct, it would seem to follow that Prose Ps. with its scanty *u*-forms belongs to a more Eastern part of the WMidl. than Gaw. and Myrc (cf. further below §§ 263, 322, 340, 365).

The fact that OE $\bar{y}$ is consistently rendered with *-uy-* in Myrc and with *-i-*, *-y-* in Gaw. is perhaps due to a local difference in the treatment of this vowel; viz. that OE $\bar{y}$ was unrounded (to $\bar{i}$) earlier in the Northern than in the Southern parts of the WMidland. — In the treatment of OE $\check{y}$ such a difference between the North and the South is not discernible.

130 It may be pointed out here that *-u-* is used (by the side of *-e-*) in Gaw. not only for OE $\bar{e}$ o (< WG *e u*) — which cases do not specially interest us here — but also for OE $\check{e}$ o (< WG $\check{e}$) in *rurd(e)* s. «noise» (5; only form), *burne* etc. «man» (numerous; only form). In other words with OE $\check{e}$ o Gaw. has *-e-* (: e. g. *erþe*, *herte*, *lerne*), but more cases with *-u-* occur in other texts written in the same dialect (cf. KNIGGE, Gaw. p. 24). — This *-u-* probably stands for $\ddot{u}$ (cf. JORDAN GRM II p. 130) or perhaps (partly) for $\check{u}$ < $\check{u}$: cf. the variant *bourne* «man» quoted by KNIGGE from the «Alliterative Poems».

In Prose Ps. I have not found any forms of this kind; if this text belongs to the Eastern part of the WMidland (cf. above, § 129), it is quite possible that the change $e o > \ddot{u}$ never took place in the dialect it represents. — In Myrc I have

noted only *vrþe* »earth» 483, 487, 1820 (~ usual *er-*); but it is very probable that these cases are late remains of a more extensive use of such *ü*-forms in the South of the WMidland. It is in fact possible that Myrc's rimes *lust* s. : *þrest* »priest» 708, 712, *turne* v. : *lerne* v. 809, *turne* v. : *zerne* adv. 874, 1599, 1807, *synne* : *henne* »hence» 1624, and perhaps even *terne* v. (if altered by the scribe from an original *turne*) : *lerne* v. 1922, are based on this *ü* (or *ǔ* < *ǔ*) < OE *eo*; though Myrc's rimes are not generally careful enough to allow a certain conclusion (cf. above § 128).

In any case we have to reckon with the fact that *wo*-forms of words with OE *w ǣ o* - (: belonging to groups B 4, B 5) in Gaw. and Myrc (: there are no *wu*-forms in these texts) may have reached this form through the stage of *w ǔ* - (cf. § 301, and § 322, foot-note). This derivation of these *wo*-forms would of course presuppose a consistent change of *w ǔ* - > *w ǔ* - in all the words in question; but this causes no difficulty, since the vowel in all these words is placed between *w* and *r*, in which position OE *ȳ* has generally been changed to *ǔ* (: written *-o-*) in Gaw. and Myrc (cf. §§ 263, 365).

I. Sir Gawayne and The Greene Knight.

132

Edited by R. MORRIS, EETS., Orig. Ser. 4 (first ed. 1864, second ed. — which I have used — 1869), from the unique MS. Cotton Nero A. 9 (Brit. Mus.). — MORRIS considers the poem to have been composed »ab. 1360 A. D.», and the MS. to have been written during the reign of Richard II. or that of Henry IV. The language of the original as well as of the MS. is probably North-West Midland (cf. JORDAN, GRM II p. 130); according to KNIGGE p. 118 the language of the

MS. is however of a slightly more Southern type than that of the original as proved by the rimes.

Cf. F. KNIGGE: Die Sprache des Dichters von Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, der sogenannten Early English Alliterative Poems, und De Erkenwalde. Diss. Marburg 1885.

[MORRIS' ed. (= the MS.) very often has *-e3* for *-es* in endings. I use only *-es* in the following].

133 A. No cases.

B.

1. *wy3t* s. »wight» (?) 1792. [Cf. *o3t* pron. 300, 1815, 2215; *no3t* pron. & adv. 358, 680, 694, etc. (13; incl. the rime: *þo3t* s., *to3t* adj. 1865), *not* adv. 85, 134, 246, etc. (numerous)]. *wy3t*, *-est*, *-ly* ~ *wi-* adj. & adv. 119, 261, etc. (7; incl. MS. *wyt-* 1591).

2. *wors* comp. 726; *worst* sup. 1792, 2098. Further *worre* comp. »worse» 1588, 1591, which is probably the Scand. *werre* with the vowel of *worse*, *worst* (cf. Myrc, § 143).

whyrlande pres. p. 2222. — *swyre* s. »neck» 138, 186, 957.

For *worþes* »becomes», *worth(e)* adj., etc., see B 4.

3. *wod*, *-e*, *-es* s. 515, 742, 764, etc. (12); *wodwos* s. pl. (OE *wuduwasan*) 721.

suster 2464 ~ *sister* III.

quik, *-ly* ~ *quy-* adj. & adv. 177 (: *þikke*), 975, etc. (5). *twy(e)s* adv. 1522, 1679. — *wit*, *wyt* inf. 131, 255, 1508, 1864, *wyt* 3e imp. 1820 [*wytes* 3 sg. pres. ind. 2050].

134 4. *sworde* s. 2319. *worth* 3 sg. pres. opt. 2127, 2374, *worþe*, *-ed* inf., pres. opt., pp. (of *weorðan*) 485, 678, 1202, etc. (7); further probably (cf. §§ 9, 275) *worþes* 3 sg. pres. ind. 1035, 1106, 1387. — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *wor(s)chip*, *-yp* s., *-es* pres. 984, 1032, 1227, etc. (8), *worth* adj. 1269, 1820, *-e* adj. 559, *stal(-)worth* adj. 846, 1659, *derworþly* adv. 114, (*un-*)*worþy* (~ *-i*) adj., *-est* sup., *-ly* adj. & adv., *-lych* adj. 72, 144, 261, 343, etc. (15).

werk(k)e, -es s. 164, 216, 494, etc. (8). *ouer-þwert* adv. 1438.

warþ inf. »cast» 225 (cf. *warþ* pt. 224, 1423, 2025); cf. § 311.

5. *worlde*, -es s. 50, 238, 261, etc. (15).

wele s. 7, 50, 485, etc. (13).

6. *werned* pp., -es pres., -yng s. 1494, 1495, 1824, 2253.

C.

135

1. *wol* 1 sg. pres. ind. 2469 [~ *wyl*, -*lle*, -*lt* sg. & pl. pres. 32, 130, 273, 295, etc. (18) ~ *wi*- 1791, 1822, 2512].

such, -e 46, 92, 196, 234, etc. (30) [~ *seche* 1543, which may come from *ī* : cf. the occasional *e*-forms *seker* adj. 265, *leue* v. »live» 1035, 1544, *þeder*, *wheder* (passim), *prevely* adv. 1877, *geserne* s. 326, *glemered* pt. 172, *schemered* pt. 772, *crested* pp. 188, *tel* »till» 1564 (: -e- < OE *y* is very rare, see above § 123)].

Otherwise no *w*-influence : cf. e. g. *wich* pron. 918, *wymmen* s. pl. 1269, 2415, 2426, (-) *swyþe*, -*ly* adv. 8, 815, etc., *wyþ*, *with* prep. (passim), *qu*-, *whyle* etc. ~ -*i*- s. & adv. 30, 60, etc., *wyst*, -e, -en pt. 461, 1087, etc. — The isolated *I-wy's* adv. 264 is probably miswritten (for the usual -*y*-, -*i*-); cf. *schyire* adj. 425, *niyzt* s. 929.

2. No *w*-influence.

3. *wormes* s. pl. »serpents» 720. *wort* s. 518. *woried* pt. 1905. *worch*, -e inf. 238, 1039, 1546, etc. (6).

wyrde, -es s. 1752, 1968, 2134, 2418 [: $\bar{i} < \bar{y} < \check{y}$? Cf. §§ 129, 365].

4. *word*, -e, -es s. 224, 312, 314, 325, etc. (18). — Cf. *wrozt*, -en pt. & pp. 3, 22, 399, etc. (only form; rimed: *þozt* s., *sozt* pt. 1997).

Note.

136

w ī very often appears as *wy*-.

Original OE *w ū* appears as *wo*- and (/ *nd*) as *wou*- : *wolues* s. pl. 720, *wone* etc. s. & v. »dwelling», »dwell» 17, 50, 257,

etc., *won(n)en* pt. pl. & pp. »won» 461, 831, etc.; *wonder* etc. s. & v. 16 (: *blunder*), 29, etc.; ~ *wounden* pp. »wound» 215; *woundes* s. pl. 642, -*ed* pp. 1791.

Original OE *w* ð appears only as *wo-* : cf C 4; further *wouen* pp. 2558, *wolde*, -*es* pt. 85, 91, etc. (only form; rimed : *bolde* adj. 2478) [cf. *nolde* pt. 1054, 1661, etc. (7)].

137 II. The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter.

Edited by K. D. BÜLBRING, EETS., Orig. Ser. 97 (London 1891, Part I), from the only known two MSS. : Additional MSS. No. 17376, British Museum (14th century; cf. further § 237 ff.), and MS. A. 4. 4 (formerly H. 32) in Trinity College, Dublin (14th century). The former MS. is the basis of BÜLBRING's text, the readings of the latter being given in foot-notes.

The British Museum MS. also contains William of Shoreham's Poems (cf. § 237 ff.), written by the same scribe. There is however very little in the orthography of the two pieces that betrays the hand of the common scribe; as pointed out by BÜLBRING op. cit. p. VIII f., the language of the Psalter »is almost pure West Midland», and »differs very distinctly from the Southern forms of the Poems». If however, as seems probable to me [cf. § 238; cf. also T. O. HIRST (: The Phonology of the London MS. of the Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter. Diss. Bonn 1907) p. 79: »possibly he (i. e. the scribe) spoke a southern dialect, a fact which would certainly make clear the source of the southern forms»], the scribe was a West-Kentishman, he may very well be responsible for the occasional cases of -*e-* for OE ÿ (cf. above § 124) with the probable exception of the consistently used *shetten*

etc. v. (which occurs also in Gen., cf. § 95); the *u*-forms for OE $\ddot{y}$ (cf. above § 124) on the other hand are very probably native WMidl. forms (cf. above l. c.). Other forms introduced by the scribe are probably the forms of *weorld* with *-rdl-*, *-rldl-* (see § 139) and the three cases of *workes* s. pl. (see § 139); these forms — which are also found in Sho., cf. §§ 244, 245 — may, as far as my material goes, be regarded as exclusively SW and Kent. (cf. §§ 294 & 297; 409 & 411).

In the following quotations — which refer only to the British Museum MS. as printed by BÜLBRING — I have disregarded the mark (probably standing for *-e*) sometimes attached to a final consonant in the MS. and also reproduced in BÜLBRING's text. — All numbers after 150 refer to the pages (and lines) in BÜLBRING's edition.

A.

138

No cases.

B.

1. *bitwix* 67/14. *no wixt* »nothing» 195/1 [cf. *nouxt* pron. & adv. 1/1, 1, 4, 5, etc. (very numerous), *noxt* adv. 2/12, 12, 23/4, 27/3, etc. (far less frequent than *nouxt*), *nout* adv. 85/13; *nauxt* adv. 1/1, 9/26, 12/4, 50/12].

2. *wirship* s. 57/4 (~ *wor-*; for this form and *worþ*, *-y*, adj., etc., see B 4). *whirle-wynde* s. 186/27.

werst sup. 33/21.

3. *wode*, *-es* s. 49/11, 82/13, 95/12, 104/31.

weteþ pl. imp. 99/3, *wetest* 2 sg. 143/4; ~ *wy-*, *witen* inf. »know» 29/12, 40/9, 43/23, etc. (16), *witeþ* pl. pres. ind. 52/5, *wyte* 3^e pl. imp. 4/4 [*witand* pres. p. 86/3 (MS. *-an*), *wyten*, *witen* 3 pl. pres. opt. 9/21, 58/15, *wite* 1 sg. pres. opt. 38/6; *wite* sg. imp. »guard» 138/22]. The *we*-forms probably go back (directly or by analogical extension) to OE $w\ddot{e}o-$; cf. the *e*-forms given by HIRST p. 38 (to which should be added *leueand*, *-iand* pres. p. 114/9, 180/19).

quike adj. pl. 123/2, 196/4; *quik*, -e, -en, -eþ, -ed inf., 3 sg. imp. & pres. ind., pt. 70/22, 79/19, etc. (17); *quick*, -e inf., sg. imp. 151/26, 154/15; 142/12; *quike* 3 sg. pres. opt. 40/2, *quikened* pt. 118/50. — *widowe*, -es s. 77/70, 108/8, 131/16, 145/8, *widues* pl. 67/5, *wydowes* pl. 93/6.

- 139 4. Here may be given (cf. § 9) *worþ*, -y adj. 12/4, 51/7, *stalworþ*, -e adj. 7/12, 135/18, *worþship* s., -ful, -fullich adj. 71/14, 95/4, 112/3, etc. (6), *worþship* inf., -iþ(p)ed pp. 36/21, 71/15, 138/16; *worship* inf. 49/16 (~ *wir*-, see B 2).

werk, -e, -es s. 8/4, 6, 16/5, etc. (62); ~ *workes* s. pl. 9/17, 76/11, 191/15 (see above § 137).

swerde, -es s. 43/4, 8, 56/6, etc. (11).

werped pt. probably = »warped» (in weaving) 180/2 (the other MS. has *warped*) is given by HIRST p. 34 under the heading »W. G. ë»; in this case, it would be a form of — or, analogically, have the vowel of — OE *weorpan*. Probably, however, it belongs to ME *warpen*, formed to OE *wearp* s. (in weaving, cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 257), and is here a scribal error for *war*-.

5. *worled* sg. 9/40, 17/17, etc. (11; incl. MS. *worded* 40/14), *world*, -e, -es sg. & pl. 9/40, 17/54, 18/4, etc. (96; incl. MS. *worls* 144/1); *word* sg. 117/4, 148/6, *wordles* pl. 44/19, 54/21, *worldles* pl. 47/13, 189/22, *worldel* sg. (probably = *worldle*) 190/5, 20; ~ *werld*, -es sg. & pl. 73/13, 89/2.

6. *werien*, -ied inf., pp. 73/4, 104/14, 118/21 [~ *waryen*, -ied inf., pt. 61/4, 108/27, *warying(e)*, -eing, -yyunge s. 9/29, 13/6, etc. (5); cf. § 331. — -ar- < ë r I have found only in *harden* pl. pt. 136/5 (~ -e-); perhaps a scribal error for *her*-].

140 C.

1. No w-influence appears; only forms with *wi*-, *wy*- occur. Note the following words: *wil*, *wille*, -eþ, -en, -and, ~ *wy*-, inf., sg. & pl. imp., pres. ind. & opt. 4/5, 5/4, 21/7, etc. (32); *w(h)ich*, -e 9/23, 29, 13/6, etc. (121), *wyche* 13/8 (corrected from *weche*); *swich*, -e 47/5, 180/12, 194/8, 8, 8,

swyche 62/3; *wil*, *wille(s)* s. ~ *wy-*, 1/2, 2, 15/2, etc., *wilful* adj. 67/10; *whider* adv. 138/6, 6; *wist*, *wyst* pt. 34/18, etc. (4). — Cf. also *whi*, *why* 2/1, 3/1, 4/3, etc.

2. No w-influence; cf. e. g. the forms *wemm* s., *unwemmed* pp., *w(h)elpe*, -es s. 16/13, 103/21. — For *swolze* s. 184/17, *swolwe* inf. 187/24, 189/12 (~ *swelweþ* pl. imp. 33/8), *swolwed* pt. & pp. 105/17, 123/3, 140/7, 183/1, see § 356; here may also belong (by popular etymology, cf. HIRST p. 15) *swolwebridde* s. »swallow» 180/6, if the form is not a scribal error for *swal-*.

3. (*lef-*)*worme* s. 21/5, 77/51. *worten* s. pl. 36/2.

wirchen, -es, -a(u)nd, -eand inf., 3 sg. & pl. pres. ind., pres. p. 5/6, 27/3, 35/13, etc. (19), *wirichen* pl. pres. ind. 13/8, *wircheing* s. 103/23; *wyrcheþ*, -en 3 sg. & pl. pres. ind. 6/8, 14/2.

4. *word*, -e, -es s. 5/1, 11/7, 7, etc. (108). — Cf. *wro(u)zt* pt. & pp. 43/2, 73/13, 105/6, 183/12.

Note.

141

w [̃] is often written *wy-* (cf. HIRST §§ 5, 13).

Original OE w [̃] appears as *wo-* and (only /nd) as *wou-* (*wu-* does not occur): *wolle* s. 147/5, *won(i)en* etc. v., *wonyng* etc. s. 2/4, 5/5, etc. (very numerous), *wonder* etc. s., -ful etc. adj. 4/4, 8/1, etc. (very numerous); ~ *woundres* s. pl. 39/7; *woundes* s. pl. 7/14, 68/31, *wounded* pp. 88/11.

Original OE w [̄] appears only as *wo-*: cf. C 4; further *wold*, -e, -est pt. 17/22, 39/8, 11, etc. (9), *wolde* pp. 50/17 [cf. *nold* pt. 35/3, 108/16].

III. John Myrc's Instructions for Parish Priests. 142

Edited by E. PEACOCK, EETS., Original Series 31 (London 1868); re-edited and revised by FURNIVALL (1902). — In this revised edition, which I have used, the »Cursing»

printed by PEACOCK vv. 675-786 from another MS. is removed to the end; thus vv. 675-1934 of the revised text correspond to vv. 787-2046 in PEACOCK's text.

According to a notice in the MS. at the end of the »Instructions», Myrc was a Canon of Lilleshall (in Shropshire). — The MS. printed by PEACOCK — MS. Cotton, Claudius A. 2 — is of the 15th century; cf. PEACOCK p. V: »not later than the year 1450, perhaps a little earlier; but the language is of a somewhat older date». — MORSBACH Gr. p. 9 dates the work »um 1400».

Myrc's »Instructions» are preserved in two other MSS., viz. MSS. Douce 60 and 103 in the Bodleian Library; both »of later execution», and showing »a tendency to the vocabulary of the north country» (:PEACOCK p. V).

143 A. No cases.

B.

1. *wyȝt*, -*ghȝe* s. (OE *wiht*) 764 (: *i- plyȝt* pp.), 1273 (: *nyghȝe* s.) [cf. *oght* pron. 947, 960, etc.; *noȝt*, -*ghȝe* 259, 310 & 429 (both rimed: *wroȝt*, -*ghȝe* pp.), etc., ~ *not* adv. 13, 38, etc. (incl. the rime: *mot* pres. ind. »may, must» 807)]. *wyghȝes* s. pl. (OE *gewiht*) 944. — Cf. *folghȝe*, -*the* s. (OE *fulwiht*, etc.) 149 (: *wolȝe* pl. pres. »will»), 528.

2. *wors*, -*e* comp. 1159 (: *corse* s. »curse»), 1466, 1524, 1716; *worre* comp. 1130 (: *neghbore* s.). — The last rime is probably correct, = *ǔ* : *ǔ* (< *ū*), *worre* having an analogical *ǔ* < *ȝ*, cf. Gaw., § 133. — For *worthy* etc., see B 4.

3. *suster* sg., -*erus* pl. 187, 719, 1668.

quyke adj. pl. 443, 523, 828. *twye(s)* adv. 119 (: *nuye* v. »harm»), 406, 1832. — *wydowe* s. 1244. (*i*)*wyȝte*, -*en* inf. 679, etc. (numerous; incl. rimes: (*i*-)*wryȝte*, -*en* pp. 679, 706, 1301, 1403).

144 4. Here, or to B 2 (cf. § 9), belong *worthy* adj. 21, *worschype* s. & v., -*et* pp. 311, 633, 853, 1015, 1196, 1306.

werk, -e, -es s. 14, 881, etc. (8; incl. rimes: *clerk* s. 14, 1348, 1654); *werkeday* s., -emen s. pl. 893, 1185, 1496. — *swerdes* s. pl. 1664.

5. *worlde*, -es s. 64, 65, 1170, 1196, 1476.

6. *werne* inf. 729.

C.

145

1. *wommon*, -es sg. 97, 195, etc. (9) [~ *wymmon*, -es, ~ -en-, pl. 57, 59, etc. (10)]. *wole*, *wolt* pres. sg. & pl. 26, 34, etc. (numerous), *wolþe* pl. pres. ind. 150 (: *folghthe*, see B 1). — *suche* 39, 139, etc. (10) [~ *syche* 366, 538, etc. (18; incl. the rime : *myche* »much» 1518)].

Otherwise no w-influence: cf. e. g. *whyche* pron. 19, *wylle* inf. 19 (: *ylle* adj.), *wylnet* pp. 1169; *why* adv. 1299, etc.

2. No w-influence.

3. *worchynge* s. 536, *worche*, -eþ inf. & pl. pres. 1606 (: *chyrche*), 1654.

4. *word*, -e, -es 29, 122, 123, etc. (21; incl. the rimes: *bordes* s. pl. »jests» 266, 589, : *chyrche 3orde* s. 1384). — Cf. *wrozt*, -ghthe pp. 210 (: *broght*), 311 & 428 (: *nozt*, -ghthe), 834, etc.

Note.

146

w ^ui is in all cases written *wy*-.

Original OE w ū appears as *wo*-, and (only /nd) as *wou*-, *wow*-. (i) *wonet* adj. (pp.) 869, 873, 1153, 1229, *i-wont* 1353, 1391; ~ *wounde*, -es s. 442, 522, etc. (5), *wowndet* pp. 921. [*wu*- does not appear; but otherwise -u- is common for OE ū : *fulle* adj., *cursed* pp., *lust* s., *huntynge* s., etc.].

Original OE w ǔ appears only as *wo*-. cf. C 4; further *forswore* pp. 866 (: *ore* adv.), 1191 (: *3ore* adv.); *wolde* etc. pt. 716, etc. (incl. the rime : *wythholde* pp. 1177).

e. "Saxon-Mercian" texts.

MORSBACH Gr. (p. 10) gives PM(L) and AR as belonging to the ME SW (< OWS) dialect, while he regards KGr. (:he does not mention Tit.) as mainly SW (< OWS), though in important points based on the OMerc. dialect (»auf alt-mercischer grundlage«).

On the other hand, KGr., AR, Tit. are counted as Mercian (< OMerc.) by HEUSER (Anglia 30)¹⁾; and HEUSER's opinion has been accepted by JORDAN (GRM II), except that JORDAN only places AR »in der Näh e des Mercischen«. JORDAN further adds PM(L) — which he regards as Mercian — to this group (: GRM II p. 126).

I do not wish to enter here into the question whether the texts of this group should be regarded as SW texts based on OWS except in certain particulars, or as Midl. (Mercian) texts based on OMerc. except as regards manifestly SW (< OWS) forms. In fact it does not seem possible definitely to solve this question. Under these circumstances — and since these texts are certainly too important to be left out of consideration — I have found it necessary to give them as a separate group and to discuss their forms separately with due regard to the OWS as well as to the OMerc. dialect.

148 It will be convenient to point out here that all the texts of this group show, as a rule, the effects of the Anglian »smoothing» (cf. especially *werc* etc. s. PM(L), KGr., AR, Tit.); this is one of the most important Mercian characteristics of these texts. On the other hand there are also a few distinctly Saxon non-»smoothed» forms: *betuhen* etc. KGr., AR, Tit., *fulluht* AR, *sweoke* Tit., *wurkes* s. KGr., and

¹⁾ HEUSER includes in this ME »Mercian» dialect only the language of the West Midland counties, the *Merchene Lawe*; not that of the *Dane Lawe*.

perhaps *sw(e)ore* PM(L), AR. The practically consistent use of *-u-* for (late) OE $\ddot{y}$ (< u + i-umlaut) in PM(L) (cf. LEWIN p. 17), KGr. (cf. STODTE §§ 8, 15), AR (cf. OSTERMANN §§ 8, 15), and except for some cases which may have been introduced by the scribe (cf. below § 174 f.), Tit., may or may not be a SW (< OWS) characteristic (cf. for *-u-* in the WMidl. dialect above, § 121 ff.).

It may also be of interest in the present case to point out that the texts of this group use *-eo-* (to some extent also *-o-*, cf. §§ 153, 163, 172, 184) for OE $\ddot{e}$ o and OE $\ddot{e}$ æ (and OFr. *ue* > *ö*), but not for OE (and OFr.) $\ddot{e}$. This *-eo-* (*-o-*) is consistently used in KGr. and AR for (late) OE $\ddot{e}$ o < breaking and probably also for (late) OE $\ddot{e}$ o < u/o-umlaut (: cf. BÜLBRING Bo. Btr XV, pp. 118 f., 122 f.); while in Tit. and (rarely) PM(L) also *-e-* appears for OE $\ddot{e}$ o of this kind.

I. Poema Morale, MS. L(ambeth 487).

150

Edited by MORRIS, Old Engl. Homilies I (EETS., Orig. Ser. 29, 34), pp. 159-175. — The MS. probably belongs to the end of the 12th century (cf. MORSB. Gr. p. 10; PAUES, Anglia 30, 223); its dialect is considered as »südwestlich» by MORSBACH (Gr. pp. 7, 10), as »mercisch» by R. JORDAN (GRM II p. 126); cf. above § 147.

For other MSS. of the poem, and editions of them, see ZUPITZA, Anglia 1, 5 ff.; H. LEWIN: Das mittlengl. Poema Morale (Halle 1881); A. PAUES: A newly discovered manuscript of the Poema Morale, Anglia 30, 217 ff. — Cf. also below § 223.

The poem seems to have been composed about A. D. 1170 (MORSB. Gr. p. 9). If, as seems probable (cf. LEWIN p. 38

f.), the rivers Avon and Stour mentioned in the poem (though not in MS. L) are the rivers with these names which meet and fall into the Channel at Christchurch (Hampshire), the author no doubt lived in Hampshire or one of the neighbouring counties. MORSBACH (Gr. p. 9 f. = TEN BRINK, Geschichte der engl. Litt. I 191) places the poem in »südl. Hampshire oder Dorsetshire zwischen Avon und Stour»; LEWIN op. cit. in the North of Wiltshire.

151 A.

nute pl. pres. ind. 236; *nusten* pl. pt. 102, 225 (: *lusten* inf.), 244.

B.

1. *wihte* s. (OE *wiht*) 79 (: *nihte* s.); *nawiht* pron. 150, 167, 249 [cf. *no(c)ht* 77, 132, 190; ~ *naut* 48, 212]. *iwichte* (OE *gewiht*) 212 (: *mihte* s.).

2. *wurs* comp. 236 (MS. *þ*-); *wurst* sup. 217, 219.

3. *suster* 148, 185.

quike adj. pl. 79, 190. *swicen* pl. 103; *swikelemen* s. pl. 251. *witen* pl. pt. »went» (?) 244. [*wit*, -e sg. pres. ind. & opt. »know» 84, 122].

4. (*wa*) *wurð* 3 sg. pres. opt. 140. — *swore* s. »neck» 144 (: *dore* s. »deer»).

werk, -es s. 27, 63, 72, 111; *werc* s. 128, 177, 243; *werch*, -e s. 108, 116, 254.

5. *world*, -es 153, 222, 267.

6. No cases.

152 C.

1. An influence of *w-* appears only in *wul(l)e*, *wulleð* sg. & pl. pres. 34, 39, 97, etc. (8) [~ *wil(l)e* sg. pres. 55, 225], *swuch* 80 [~ *swich* 80, *sw-*, *swilch*, -e 120, 222]; and (?) *hwle* 25 (= *hwule* ?) [~ *hwile* 19, 21, etc. (8)]. Otherwise only *wi-* : cf. e. g. *hwilke*, *hwice* pron. 130, 136; *swiðe* adv. 143; *hwi* adv. 104 f.

2. No influence of *w-* appears. [Cf. *werre* s. »war» 246].
3. No cases. [Cf. *unwunne* s. 208 (: *sunne* »sin»)].
4. *word,-e* s. 3, 9, 27 (: *horðe* s. »hoard»), 158, 260 (: *horde*).

Note.

153

wy- does not occur.

Original OE *w ŭ* appears as *wu-* and (once only) as *wo-*: *wunderlukeste* sup. 68, *swunken* pl. pt. 254 (: *drunken*); *wuned*, *-ien* v. 136, 151 (: *bi-sunien*), 179; ~ *iwoned* pp. (adj.) 57.

Original OE *w ǫ* appears only as *wo-*: cf. C 4; further *forsworene* pp. 103; *wolde* etc. pt. 147, 243 (: *nolden*), 266 (: *holde* adj.), cf. *nolde* etc. pt. 138, 238, 242 f. (: *wolden* pt.) [~ *walde* 14, 35 (: *unholde* adj.), etc. (5); *nalde* 185 f., 261 f.; see § 311].

As to *swore* s. (B 2), *world* etc. (B 4), attention may be called to the very consistent use of *-o-* (~ far less frequent *-eo-* and (rarely) *-e-*, cf. § 149) for OE *ǣ o* : *bo*, *bon*, *ibon* »be» etc., *frond* »friend», *dore* adj., »dear», *dore* s. »deer», etc.; *solf* »self», *houen(e)* »heaven», *souene* »seven», *orþe* etc. »earth», etc.

II. The "Katherine Group" (MS. R).

154

This »Group» consists of the »Lives» of 1) St. Katherine, 2) St. Margaret, 3) St. Juliana; probably composed — according to EINENKEL (Anglia 5), No. 1 by one author, Nos. 2 & 3 by another — about A. D. 1200 (cf. EINENKEL, St. Kath. p. XVIII; MORSE. Gr. p. 9). — All these Lives are preserved in the Brit. Mus. MS. Reg. 17 A. 27 (MS. R); besides, No. 1 is found in MS. NE A. 3. 11, Bodl. Library (MS. B), and MS. Cotton Ti-

tus D. 18, Brit. Mus. (MS. C; cf. below § 173 ff.), Nos. 2 & 3 in the Bodl. Library MS. 34.

I have used the editions published in the EETS. Original Series: No. 1 by E. EISENKEL (EETS. 80, London 1884), Nos. 2 & 3 by O. COCKAYNE (EETS. 13, London 1866, and EETS. 51, London 1872). Of No. 1 there are two earlier editions (cf. § 173), one by J. MORTON (: Abbotsford Club, 1841), the other by CH. HARDWICK (Cambridge Antiquarian Society XV, 1849); besides, it may be mentioned that EETS. 13 is a reprint of the original edition of »Seinte Marherete» by COCKAYNE, London 1862.

My material is taken only from MS. R, which seems to be somewhat earlier than the rest. They all belong to the first half of the 13th century (cf. e. g. EISENKEL, St. Kath. p. XIV f.; MORSE. Gr. p. 9).

- 155 As to the dialect of KGr. — as it appears in the orthography of MS. R (and MS. B) — EISENKEL, St. Kath. p. XVIII, considers it to be »that of the middle portion of Southern England»; he further suggests (on p. LVI f.) that the pieces may have been written »somewhere between Worcestershire and Dorsetshire — say Gloucestershire». — MORSE. Gr. (§ 3 anm. 2; § 9, 1) ascribes KGr. to the ME Southern dialect group (: »im norden des mittleren südens entstanden»), though its language is in many important points based on the OMerc. dialect (: »auf altmercischer grundlage»); this opinion has been supported by H. STODTE (Über die Sprache und Heimat der »Katherine-Gruppe». Diss. Göttingen 1896). — W. HEUSER (Anglia 30) includes KGr. into his ME South Mercian group (cf. §§ 147, 174); mainly in accordance with him, R. JORDAN (GRM II p. 129) attempts a more precise localisation, proposing the South of Shropshire or Staffordshire as the probable home of KGr.

A.

nute *we* J 74/11; *nuste*, *-en* K 149, 1535, 1802, 2313; M 8/20; J 30/7. — *nule*, *nult(u)*, *nul(l)i*, *-ich*, *-en*, *-eð* K 509, 1018, etc. (7; besides *nule* is wanted by the context K 763, where MS. R has *wule*); M 5/9, 6/16, etc. (5); J 8/15, 10/3, etc. (13).

B.

1. *bituhen* M 8/24, 23/16 (cf. *bituhhen* MSS. BC, K 1515, probably original; MS. R has *betweonen*). Cf. *fulht* s. (< OE *fulwiht*, etc.) M 19/2, 4, 8.

(*un*)(*h*)*wiht*, *-es* s. K 1252, 1707; M 3/18, 21, etc. (21); J 22/16, etc. (9); *nawiht* K 473, 475, etc. (numerous); M 7/28, 9/25, etc. (8); J 12/12, 15, etc. (4); *earwiht* M 15/15 [cf. *nawt* K 85, 283, 346, etc. (numerous); M 7/23, etc. (13); J 12/6 etc. (17); *naut* M 5/25; *noht* pron. K 343, 1714; M 5/3, 6/24, 16/12; *nohtes* gen. J 22/10; *ewt* pron. K 996].

2. *wurse* comp. K 168; M 18/8; J 46/17, 50/5; *wur(e)st* sup. M 8/3, 14/18, 16/6; J 26/9, 50/8; 38/7; *wursi* inf. K 2135. — For (*-*)*wurð*, *-e* adj., etc., see B 4.

swire s. K 2091, etc. (3); M 9/8, 15, etc. (4); J 72/9.

3. *wude*, *-es* s. K 271; M 10/1. *sutel* adj., *-eliche* adv. K 322, 381, 1033, 1332; *sutelin* etc. v. K 1036, 1089, 1834; M 5/31; J 18/4, 56/11. *sustren* s. pl. J 74/13. — [*cwike* adj. pl. J 54/8 is no doubt a scribal error for *cwike* (see below), especially as there are no cases in this MS. of *-w-* for *-u-* or *-wu-*].

unweoten s. pl. K 1054; M 6/11. — Here may also be mentioned *hweonne*¹) J 38/2, with the vowel of OE *heonone* (< * *h i n a n -*); cf. BÜLBRING, Bo. Btr XV p. 121.

cwic adj. sg. K 1868; *cwike* pl. K 63, 341; M 8/23, 9/24; J 22/14, 62/18 [for *cwke*, see above]; *cwic* 3 sg. pres. ind. (or adj. ?) K 1254. *swikele* M 12/13, 14/12. — *widewe*, *-en* s. M 2/7, 8/10.

¹) The variant *hwonne* M 16/17 is assumed by BÜLBRING, Bo. Btr XV p. 139 to have *-o-* for *-eo-* (= *ö*); but I consider this form in KGr. as well as in AR, OEH, etc. to derive from regular OE *a ~ o* / nasal.

(bi)wite, -en, -ene, -eð inf. pl. pres. ind. (»know», and »guard») K 136, 150, 261, etc. (numerous); M 2/23, 7/5, etc. (13); J 6/8, 9, etc. (6).

- 158 4. (for-, i)wurðe, -en, -eð sg. pres. opt., inf., pl. & 1 sg. pres. ind. K 155, 241, etc. (8); M 3/4, 4/21, etc. (14; incl. i'wurði 3 sg. pres. opt. 10/10, cf. e. g. weorri 3 sg. pres. opt. 3/21); J 14/4, 16/8, 9 etc. (9). — Here (or to B 2, cf. § 9) belongs also (-)wurð, -e adj., etc. : wurðful, -e adj. K 1017; M 22/26; (un-)wurð adj. K 70, 343, etc. (6; incl. -rd 1714); M 4/28, 5/3, etc. (4); J 14/6; (kine)wurðliche adv. K 1564; J 62/9; (deore-, kine-, lue)wurðe (incl. inflectional -e) adj. K 507, 568, etc. (15); M 1/22, 2/15, etc. (12); J 2/4, 8/9, etc. (13); stalewurðe (cf. -ward-below) K 702, 1841, 2168; M 15/32, 16/17; J 44/7, 70/16; wurðmunt, -schipe s. K 216, 244, etc. (12; incl. -(r)d- 1474, 1502, 2062; 1626); M 10/20, 15/31, etc. (5); wurgin inf. etc., iwurget pp. (< -r ð i g -; cf. STRATM.-BRADLEY) K 55, 59, etc. (5); M 1/22, 4/21, 18/16; J 62/9, 64/10; wurðes s. pl. J 20/3 (or < OE wyrd ?); (?)iwurðinge s. M 3/18 (COCKAYNE : = in wurðinge »mire, dung»; < OE weorþ ?). wurkes s. pl. M 6/19 ~ (hondi)werc, werkes s. K 171, 1016, 1222; M 1/19, 10/6, 16/16; J 42/1.

sweord, -es K 2090, 2180, etc. (5); M 5/4, 6/28, etc. (8).

þwertouer M 10/15.

For stalewardlukest sup. M 14/19 (cf. -wurðe above), see § 312. — For (a)warpen etc. (present tenses) K 18, 643, etc. (8), M 3/5, 18, etc. (8), J 24/6, etc. (6), see § 311. [(a)weorþ pt. K 835, etc. (4), J 38/9 (~ warp pt. sg. K 829, 1190, J 52/2, 78/4) has the pt. vowel of the redupl. verbs; cf. BÜLBR. QF 63 p. 82, and below C 2].

- 159 5. wordes s. pl. »hosts» M 22/25. world, -e, -es, -ene, -lich(e), -men K 30, 97, etc. (35); M 1/14, 24, etc. (15); J 4/7, 14/4, etc. (9); ~ worl M 7/9; ~ wordlich M 2/18.

weole, -en s. K 1034, 1501, etc. (7); M 1/15, 4/25, etc. (10); J 10/14, 14/5, etc. (4). bedweolet K 1251. sweouet s. (OE sweo-

for) K 1427. *cweoðe* 1 sg. pres. ind. K 867 (~ *forcweðest*, *cweðinde*).

6. *wernin* inf. K 769.

For (a)*waried*, *-iet*, *-ide* pp., s. & adj. (< pp.) K 141, 201, etc. (7); M 5/20, 7/6, 16/23; J 38/8; see § 331.

C.

160

1. *wule*, *wult(u)*, *wulleð* sg. & pl. pres. (cf. also *ichulle* 1 sg. pres. ind. K 484, 639, etc., M 5/12, 7/21, etc., J 10/3, 10, etc.), K 399, 461, etc. (numerous), M 3/1, 3, 4/24, etc. (numerous), J 10/1, 12/2, etc. (numerous) [only form in MS. R, except for *wile* 1 sg. pres. ind. M 14/17 (miswritten ?)]. (-) *hwuch*, *-cche(s)* K 157, 445, 511, etc., M 4/14, 6/8, J 42/12, 46/11, 68/14 (only form in MS. R). *swuch*, *-cche* K 128, 140, etc. (numerous), M 8/21, 16/32, J 22/9, etc. (8) (only form in MS. R). *wummon* s. sg. K 1443, 2410, M 3/17, etc. (11), J 16/8, etc. (5); *wummen* pl. K 1274, etc. (3), M 1/12, etc. (4), J 66/10 (only forms in MS. R). — Here may also be mentioned *wundi* adj. K 376, J 10/3; *halewunde* adj. K 233, 886, M 8/22; both with original *ě* (> *ī*: cf. § 337).

Otherwise no w-influence: cf. e. g. the forms (*bi*)*wiste*, *-est* pt., *iwist* pp., *hwil* adv., *-hwile* s., *swiðe*, *-ere*, *-est* adv., *hwi* adv., etc. (cf. further STODTE §§ 5, 12).

2. A rounding of *ě* (incl. *ě* < *ē*), caused by the preceding *i*61 w - (and the consonant following on the vowel) is proved by the spelling *weo-* (cf. BÜLBR. Bo. Btr XV) in the following words:

tweolf, *-lue* K 1551, 1824; J 62/13; *un-*, *iweommet* pp. K 1416; M 7/5, etc. (3); J 6/9, etc. (4); *weom* s. M 10/24 (< the verb); *weopmen* s. pl. K 2323; M 1/11, 6/4; J 66/10 (~ *wepne*, *-en* s., *wepnede*, *iwepnet* K 188; M 10/22, 14/18, etc.; J 50/7). — For *weorre* s., *-in* etc. v. (< OFr.) K 20, 32, etc. (6), M 3/19, 21, etc. (7), J 40/9, etc. (4), ~ *worre* s. K 2399, see § 357.

The rest of the *weo-*forms (: *weol(l)e* pt., *weolc* pt., *weox* pt., *hweol(es)* s., *weouet* s., *betweonen* prep., *beweopen* pt. pl., *weolc-*

ne s., cf. further the cases given in B 3, 4, 5) go back to OE *w eo* or *w æ*; cf. BÜLBR. Bo. Btr XV.¹⁾

For the *-o-* in (*for*)*swolthen* inf. M 5/4, 9/15, etc. (6); J 74/4 (as against e. g. *forswelten* v. (trans.) M 5/4; J 18/6; *swelten* v. (intr.) M 7/20, 11/18); see § 356.

162 3. *wurm*, *-es* s. M 10/3, 11/11. *wurthen* etc. v. K 171, 371, etc. (7); M 4/20, 6/18, etc. (8); J 8/11, 10/11, etc. (16). *wruhte* s. (OE *wyrhta*) M 20/12, 21/28; J 60/2. [Cf. *wunne*, *-en* s. K 1501, etc., M 1/16, etc., J 10/15, etc.; *wunsum* adj. M 19/1, J 70/3].

4. *word*, *-es* s. K 311, 316, etc. (22); M 4/13, 28, etc. (5); J 10/7, 22/9, 36/2.

For *i-*, *awarpen* pp. K 1277; M 11/8, etc. (3); J 48/18 [cf. (*i*)*wrahte*, *-est* pt., *iwraht*, *-e* pp. K 282, 369, etc. (8); M 1/19, 7/28, etc. (8); J 4/8, 8/11, etc. (9; incl. MS. *-ahe* 60/2)]; see § 311.

163 Note.

wy- does not occur.

Original OE *w ũ* appears only as *wu-*: *wulf* etc. s., *wunder* etc. s., (*a*)*wundrede* etc., *wundri* adj.; *wunien* etc. v., *wununge* s.; (*i*)*wurðe*, *-en* pl. pt., *wurpe*, *-en* 2 sg. & pl. pt. ind.; *wunden* s. pl., *iwundet* pp.; *biwunden* pp.

Original OE *w ǒ* appears only as *wo-*: cf. above C 4; further *toswollen* pp. K 840. — For *walde* etc. pt. K 17, 155, 157, etc. (numerous); M 2/27, 3/5, etc. (9); J 6/4, 10/15, etc. (11) [cf. also *nalde* pt. sg. K 108, 424, etc. (7); J 8/1]; see § 311.

For *-eo-* = *ö*, see above § 149. In a few cases (not many!) *-o-* is substituted for this *-eo-* in our MS.: *horte* »heart», *eorðe* »earth», etc. (cf. BÜLBRING, Bo. Btr XV p. 139).

¹⁾ *weosch* imp. sg. »wash» M 19/5 — recorded as imp. sg. by BÜLBRING QF 63, p. 100, but as pt. sg. (< STODTE p. 34) in Bo. Btr XV p. 123 — is very remarkable, if it really is the MS. form. Due to the influence of the pt., or simply a blunder of the scribe (for *wash*)?

III. The Ancren Riwele.

164

Edited by JAMES MORTON [: The Ancren Riwele, etc. London 1853. Camden Society No. 57] from the early 13th century (: cf. MORSB. Gr. p. 10) MS. Cotton Nero A. 14 (Brit. Mus.). — For other MSS. cf. MORTON op. cit. p. VI f., and W. HEUSER, Anglia 30, 103 ff; cf. also below § 173.

The dialect of this MS., generally ascribed to the Middle South (cf. MORSB. Gr. p. 10), is considered by HEUSER, Anglia 30, 114, as a Southern variety of his South Mercian group (cf. §§ 147, 174).

I have collected my material from MORTON's text; only in the case of a few exceptional forms have I had recourse to the MS. itself.

Cf. H. OSTERMANN: Lautlehre des germanischen Wortschatzes in der von Morton herausgegebenen Handschrift der Ancren Riwele. Bo. Btr XIX. Bonn 1905.

A

165

nute, -eþ sg. pres. opt.; pl. pres. ind. 58/23, 194/26, etc. (5); *nuste* pt. 218/15, 222/11. — *nul*, *nult(u)*, *nul(l)e*, *nul(l)ich*, *nulleð* 62/17, 76/8, 15 etc. (37).

B.

1. *bitwehe(n)* 204/20, 358/11. *fuluht(e)* s. 160/9, 322/30, 332/1, 396/5.

unwiht, -es s. 238/14, 264/7, 300/15 (& MS. -*whit* 274/13); *lutewiht* 72/24; *nowiht* 82/25, 28, 96/13, etc. (19) [cf. *naut* 10/26, *nowt* 2/13, 68/7, *nout* 4/23, 6/1, 3, 9, etc. (numerous); *out* 124/6, 198/12, etc. (7); *nouht* pron. 106/9, 130/24, *nouht* adj. 184/23, *nouhtunge* s. 426/20]. *wihtful* adj. 268/12.

2. *wurse* comp. 50/16, 82/1, etc. (16; incl. *wurse* 180/7, probably miswritten for *þurse*); *wurst(e)* sup. 82/2, 6, 7, etc. (6); *wursie* etc. v. 228/3, 326/23, 428/20. — For *wurð(-)* s. etc., (-)*wurð(-)* adj. etc., see B 4.

swire 58/7 (~ *sweo-*, see B 4).

166 3. *wude* s. 96/25, 402/2. *suster* sg. 52/2, 256/4, etc. (11); *sustren* pl. 2/8, 8/13, etc. (numerous). *sutel* adj., *-eliche* adv. 112/26, 154/21, 160/24, etc. (5); *sutelie* pres. opt. 382/3; *isuteled* pp. 8/27, 154/2 (MS. *-eð*).

wuten inf. 96/4; *-eð* pl. imp. & pres. ind. 68/22, 92/5, etc. (7); further *wute* 3e 2 pl. pres. ind. 266/3; pl. imp. 174/15, 190/6, etc. (6); and perhaps (: with the o-umlauted vowel of other forms) *wute* sg. pres. opt. 172/17, etc. (4); ~ *witen*, *-ene* inf. 4/15, 10/4, etc. (21); *-eð* pl. imp. & pres. ind. 10/16, 14/6, etc. (10); *-en* pl. pres. ind. 114/22; *-e* 1 sg. pres. ind. 78/13 [*wit*, *-e*, *-eð* sg. imp. & pres. ind., pres opt. 28/6, 48/6, etc. (numerous); *witunge* s. 418/11].

unweote s. 8/22.

wike s. 70/6, 344/10, 428/18; *swiðwike* 70/7. *cwike*(s) adj. (inflected) 50/25, 66/14, etc. (11); *cwic*, *-kure* comp., *-kest* sup., *-like* adv., *-luker*, *-nesse* 84/9, 112/7, 13, etc. (15); *agu-*, *acwikien* etc. v. 58/11, etc. (4). *swike* s. (OE *swica*) 98/6, 222/12, 236/3, 272/36. *swike* adj. 98/6. *swikele* adj. pl., *-elure* comp. 180/12, 23, 268/14. *twie*, *-es*, *-en* »twice» 20/27, 34/1, 36/4, etc. (8). — *widewe*, *-en* s. 10/3, 10, 10, 300/27, 314/2.

167 4. (*a-*, *for-*, *i*)*wurðen* inf. 52/12, 86/10, etc. (20); *-rðe*, pres. opt. 186/23, 194/8, etc. (5); *-rðeð* pl. pres. ind. 150/5, 200/6, 370/1, and (if not belonging to B 2, cf. §§ 9, 275 f.) 3 sg. pres. ind. 96/9, 128/18, 182/8, 284/17 ~ *iwurð* 150/20. — Here may also be given (cf. § 9): *wurð* s. 150/21; *wurðfule* adj. 100/24, 140/26, *wur(ð)schiþe* s. 22/2, 26/10, etc. (9); (*un*)*wurð* adj., *-liche* adv. 40/7, 94/4, 130/12, etc. (25); *unwurðeste* sup. 174/17; (*un*)*wurðe* (incl. inflexional *-e*) adj. 38/17, 50/4, etc. (10); *lic-*, *luuewurðe* adj. 112/27, 120/26, etc. (6); *de(o)r(e)-*, *deorwurðe* adj. 2/6, 26/3, etc. (53), *-rðliche* adv. 410/20.

(*vor-*, *a-*, *ouer*)*worþen* inf. 40/8, 120/23, etc. (6); *-e*, *-en*, *-eð* pres. opt., pl. imp. 96/9, 142/12, etc. (6); *worþ* sg. imp. 356/4; (*for*)*worþest*, *-eð* 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. 52/26, 150/7, 8, etc.

(10); *knif-worpare* s. 212/17; ~ *weorpen*¹⁾ inf. 404/30, -eð 3 sg. pres. ind. 88/3.

sweord, -e, -es s. 60/15, 17, 22, 23, etc. (13). — *sweore* s. »neck» 394/19 (~ *swi*-, see B 2).

werc, -men; *werke*, -es, -edei, -edawes 14/23, 18/10, 20/7, etc. (42).

þwertouer 82/12 ~ *þwartouer* 402/6 (: § 308). — For *stalewarde*, -rdliche 80/7, 272/6, 346/1 (only form), see § 312.

5. *wordnesse* (OE *weorod*-) 138/12. *world*, -e, -es, -lich(e) 168 (MS. *worlich* 190/5) 10/4, 8, 16, 12/2, etc. (more than 150 cases).

weole, -en s. (sg. & pl.) 168/4, 192/9, 196/17, etc. (7); *weolie* adj. 398/3. *dweole* s. 62/22, 224/9, 354/11; *dweoleð* s. (or miswritten for -e ?) 224/12; *bidweolieð* 3 sg. & pl. pres. ind. 128/15, 196/18.

6. *wernen* etc. v. 248/23, 330/11; *wernunge* s. 330/12; ~ *wearnen* 408/29 (: § 330 f.).

For (a)*warien* etc. v. 70/20, 186/2, etc. (5); *wariunge* s. 200/28; see § 331.

C.

169

1. The influence of *w-* appears in the *u*-forms of the following words:²⁾

wu- < original *wī* : *wul(l)e* sg. pres. 6/27, 8/3,4, etc. (numerous; cf. *ichulle*, *ich chulle* 1 sg. pres. ind. 2/10, 12/16, 17, etc. (36; incl. MS. *chulde* 186/1)), *wult(u)* 2 sg. pres. 90/2, 126/11, etc. (numerous), *wulleð* pl. pres. 24/30,

¹⁾ (a)*werp* pt. sg. 52/26, etc. (4; only form) must have developed from OE *wearp*; cf. *swerte* adj. 294/12 (~ *swarte*), *weri* s. (OE *wearg*) 352/21 (~ *wari*-) and numerous other cases of -er- for OE -ear- given by OSTERMANN § 16, 2. — It can hardly have developed from *weorþ* (cf. §§ 158, 179; and further *weox* pt. 258/21, *weosch(s)* pt. 56/15, 300/26), as the MS. with very few exceptions correctly distinguishes between -eo- and -e-, especially after *w*.

²⁾ *i*-forms do not occur in AR of any of these words, except when specially stated.

26/17, etc. (numerous) [*~ wilt(u)* 2 sg. pres. 98/29, 100/2, etc. (5), *willed* pl. pres. 412/2; cf. *wil*, *wille* s., *willes* adv., *herc-*, *un-*, *onwil* adj., *wiln(i)en* v. (passim), *wilkume* adj. 394/17]; *hwuc*, *-ch(e)* 8/3, 12/17 18, 18, 64/3, etc. (numerous), (*al*)-*swuch*, *-che*, *-chne* (acc. sg.), *-c* 6/8, 8/1, 3, 7, etc. (numerous; besides MS. *shwuche* 318/2; *swulne* acc. sg. 318/12); *hwuder* (*so*) 78/6, 100/21, *hwuderward* 168/17, (*n*)-*ouhwuder* 172/3, 424/8; *wuste* pt. 64/1, 23, 88/9, etc. (7), (*bi*)*wust* pp. 48/7, 72/17, etc. (7); *beo uste* 160/1 (miswritten for *bewuste* s. ?) [cf. *wute* pres. opt. *~ wit*, *-e* etc., see B 3].

wu- < w ĭ < w ī : *wummon*, *-e* sg., *-lich* adj. 12/11, 54/14, 56/14, etc. (numerous); *wummen* pl. 10/22, 54/19, 20, etc. * (numerous).

wu- < original w ī : [*hand-*, *hond-* 94/27, etc. (3), *sume-* 276/20, 390/24, *stert-* 336/7, *oðer-* 180/25, etc. (numerous)] *hwule*, *-es* 20/25, 32/9, 42/17, etc. (numerous) *~ oðerhules* 180/16, 16; *ihwulen* v. 44/5, 422/5 [*~ oðerhwile* 62/4, 104/27, 406/21; *sumehwiles* 272/28]; (*ouer*)*swuðe*, *swuð*, *-ere* comp., *-est* sup. 8/16, 46/23, 56/19, etc. (numerous) [*~ swiðe* 236/26; *swiðwike* s. 70/7].

[Cf. also *hwui* 112/26, 146/15, etc. (*~ hwi* 14/16, 16, 78/24, etc.), where the OE *ȳ*-variant is probably not due to the influence of *w-* (cf. OE *þy ~ ȳ*)].

170 2. A rounding of *ě* (incl. *ě* < *ē*), caused by the preceding *w-* (supported by the consonant following on the vowel) appears in the spelling *weo-* (cf. above § 149) in the words *weob* s. 322/31; *hweolp*, *-es* s.; *ihweolped* pp. 198/7, 11, etc. (21); 200/3; *tweolf* etc. 28/22, 30/1, 2, etc. (10); *weopmonne* sg. 316/27, *-men* sg. & pl. 10/22, 56/24, 68/3, 70/24 (*~ wepmonnes* sg. 58/6, *-men* pl. 54/20; cf. *wepnen* s. pl. 60/15, etc.). — For the OFr. loan-word *weorre* s., *-eour* s., *weorred* etc. v. 60/14, 17, 62/5, etc. (numerous; only form), see § 357.

In the case of *ē* no such rounding appears. In (*bi*)*weopen* etc. (present tenses) 156/9, etc. (12; *~ biwepen* 108/15) and

perhaps also *sweote* adj. 102/1 (or miswritten for the usual *swete*, *swote*?) as against only *-e-* in *kēne*, *dēmen*, etc. (cf. BÜLBR. Bo. Btr XV p. 124), *w-* has preserved the OE *æ* < *ō* + *i*-umlaut.

For (*for-*, *uor*)*swoluwen*, *-eð* inf., 3 sg. pres. ind. 8/23, 10/19, 66/15, 164/7, 202/24 (as against e. g. *swel(l)* s., *swelle* pres. opt. 274/23, 25, 27, *aswelte* pres. opt. 216/5), see § 356.

3. *wurm*, *-es* s. 138/14, 15, etc. (6). *wurp* s. 56/14. *wru-* 171 sum (OE *wyrms*, *worms*) 274/3, 322/11. *wurchen* etc. v. 6/13, 30/10, 44/8, etc. (17). ((*p*)*salm*)*wur(u)hte* s. 78/10, 134/7, etc. (7). *awuried* pp., *-ieð* pres. 202/24, 252/9, 324/28. [Cf. *wunne*, *-en* s. 192/29, etc. (numerous), *wuluene* »she-wolf» 120/9, 13, 13, 22, 25].

4. (*here*)*word* etc. s., *iworded(e)* pp. 16/6, 7, 18/9, 12, etc. (numerous). *forworpen* pp. 148/24, 218/7, etc. (5). — Cf. *wrouhte* pt. 258/22 etc. (4), *iwrouht(e)* pp. 182/13, etc. (3).

i-, *forwurden* pp. 148/25, 218/22 probably has the vowel of the pl. pt., cf. § 379.

Note.

172

wy- does not occur.

Original OE *w ũ* appears only as *wu-*: *wulf* etc., *biwunnen* pp., *wunder* s., *awundred* etc. v., *wunien* etc. v. »dwell», *wun(i)unge* s., *wune* s. »habit», (*i*)*wuned(e)* pp. (adj.), *iswunk-en* pp., *wurpe* pt. opt., *wunde*, *-en* etc. s. & v.; further probably *i-*, *forwurden* pp., see C 4.

Original OE *w ǒ* appears only as *wo-*: cf. C 4.; further *isworen* pp. 96/20, *toswollen* pp. 282/8; *wolde* etc. pt. 8/16, etc. (numerous) [cf. *molde* etc. pt. 60/7, etc.].

For *-eo-* = *ö*, see above § 149. *-o-* is very rarely substituted for this *-eo-* in AR; OSTERMANN (§§ 22, 26) records only *horte*, *hote* (for *-rte*) »heart» 8/10, 118/27, *bore* 202/3, 16, *zoue* 204/2 (and *hwonne* 144/14, cf. above § 157, foot-note); to which should be added *astorueð* 3 sg. pres. ind. 178/4.

173 IV. MS. Cotton Titus D. 18, British Museum.

The oldest part of this MS., fol. 14a fol. 147 b, written, all in one hand, »early in the 13. century» (Palæographical Society, Ser. II, Plate 75), contains 1) the »Ancren Riwele» (beginning missing) (fol. 14a - fol. 105a), 2) the »Sawles Warde» (fol. 105b fol. 112b), 3) the »Hali Meidenhad» (fol. 112b fol. 127a), 4) the »Wohunge of ure Lauerd» (fol. 127a - 133a), 5) the »Saint Katherine» (fol. 133b - 147b). — Three of these pieces have been printed from this MS.: No 3. by COCKAYNE (EETS., Orig. Ser. 18, London 1866), No. 4 by R. MORRIS (Old English Homilies I p. 269 ff., EETS., Orig. Ser. 29, 34), No. 5 by J. MORTON (1841) and by CH. HARDWICK (1849), cf. above § 154; besides, the variants of the MS. are recorded in EINENKEL's ed. of No. 5 (EETS., Orig. Ser. 80), and W. WAGNER's ed. of No. 2 (: Sawles Warde. Bonn 1908).

174 According to W. HEUSER, Anglia 30, 114 f., this MS. is the only early representative of the Northern form of the ME »Mercian» dialect, to the Southern variety of which (ME) dialect he counts the other MSS. of AR (cf. § 164) and MS. R (and MS. B?) of KGr. (cf. § 155). He admits however, on the whole in accordance with TH. MÜHE (: Über den im Ms. Cotton Titus D. XVIII enthaltenen Text der Ancren Riwele, Diss. Göttingen 1902), that the MS. (as regards the part containing AR) may not in all particulars represent this dialect, some forms being due to the South Mercian (MÜHE: Southern) MS. which seems to have been the source of the North Mercian (MÜHE: North-West Midland) scribe who wrote the extant MS. — I regard the text as »Saxon-Mercian», but mixed by the scribe with Midland forms not native in this dialect [cf. e. g. *wirsum* C, 3; see § 366].

175 My material includes fol. 105b 147b of the MS.; besides, I give in square brackets, in their places under each heading,

the forms recorded by MÜHE from fol. 14a - fol. 105a (:MÜHE's citations are not meant to be exhaustive). — My citations refer to the leaves, pages (a & b), and columns (1 & 2) of the MS.; for the forms taken from MÜHE I have kept his mode of reference.

A.

176

nuten pl. pres. ind. 107a², 121b²; *nuste* 134a², 142a², 143b², 146b¹. — *nul(l)e*, -en 3 sg. & pl.; *nult* 2 sg.; *nul ich*, *tu* 113b², 114b², 119b², etc. (7) [*nule* 17,10; *nulich* 22,1].

B.

177

1. *bituhe* prep. 108b¹; -*uhhe(n)* 108a¹, b¹, b¹, b², 109a¹, b², 119b¹, etc. (14).

(*un-*, *vn*)*wiht*, -es s. 105b¹, 108a², b², 124b¹, etc. (9); *ewiht* pron. 124b¹; *nawiht* pron. & adv. 108b², 113a², 116b¹, 135a², etc. (20) (cf. *ewt* pron. 140a², ~ *ewt* 125a², 139a²; *noht* adv. 105b¹, 108a², 114a¹, 129b², 131b², 143a²; (?) *nohtunge* (COCKAYNE: »nothing») 114a¹; ~ *nawt* 105b², b², 106b¹, b¹, etc. (numerous) [*nawt* 14a, 15; »etc.»]; ~ *nowt* 108a², 132b¹, 135b¹ [*nowt* 28,8; »etc.»]).

2. *wurse* comp. 107a², a², 108a¹, 116a², 119b², 134b¹ [*wurse* 15a, 22]; *wurst* sup. 122 a¹; *wursi*, *wursen* inf. 108b¹, 111 b¹, 145b¹. — For *wurð* s., (-)*wurð*, -e adj., etc., see B 4.

swire s. 145a², 146a², 147a²; (?) *swireforð* (COCKAYNE: »headlong») 119a².

3. *wude* s. 135a². *sutel*, -*ele*, -*elliche* adj. & adv. 119a¹, 178 135b¹, b², 139a²; *suteleð*, -*ede* pres. & pt. 139a², b¹, 143 b [*sutelliche* 32, 11; 32, 21; *isutelet* 41a, 4]. *suster* sg., -*stren* pl. 106a² (3), 108a², etc. (16) [*sustre* 15,18; 40,6; etc. (10 cases given)].

[*weote* 53a,8; MÜHE : »o-umlaut»]; *unweo[t]nesse* s. 108b² ~ *unwiten* s. pl. 139b¹.

sweoke s. (OE **sweoca*) 126a². *sweepes* s. pl. »whips» 131b², b².

[*wike* 20, 23]. *cwic*, *cwike* adj. 107a¹, b¹; 115b², etc. (6); (a)*cwiked*, *-ied* sg. & pl. pres. ind., *-ede*, *-et* pt. & pp. 107a², 117a¹, 118b¹, 125a¹, [*cwike* 15a, 12; *acwikien* 17a, 9]. *swikel*, *-ele* adj. 112b², 120b²; *-eliche* adv. 123b². — *widewe*, *-en*, *-ene*, *-ehad* s. 113a¹, 118b¹(2), 119a¹(2), 125b¹(3). *wite*, *-en* inf. & pl. pres. ind. »know» 108a¹, 111a¹(2), a², 120b², etc. (19) [*witen* pl. pres. ind. 60a, 15; 64a; 64a, 6]; (*bi*)*wite*, *-en(e)*, *-eð* inf. & pres. ind. pl. »guard, defend» 105b¹, 106a², 108a¹, etc. (18).

- 179 4. [*wurpe* 35, 26] (~ *war-*, see below). (*for-*, *i*)*wurðe*, *-en* inf., pres. opt., pl. pres. ind. 105b², 107a¹, 111a¹, etc. (18) [(*i*)*wurðe*, *-en* 16, 11; 55a, 8; 56a, 2; 56a, 12]; here probably also belongs (cf. §§ 9, 276) (*for*)*wurðest*, *-eð* 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. 108a², 120a², 122a¹, b². — Here, or to B 2 (cf. § 9), belong also *wurð* s., (*-*)*wurð*, *-e* adj., etc.: *wurð* s. (cf. *wor-* below), *-fule* adj. 120a², 139a²; (*un*)*wurð* adj. 106a¹, 108a², b², 109a¹, etc. (23); *-ere* comp. 122a¹; *-lich(e)* adj. 121b², 123b¹, 142a²; *deorewurðliche* adv. 115a²; (*un*)*wurðe* adj. (sg. & pl.) 114b¹, 136b¹, 141b²; *de(o)re-*, *kine-*, *lic-*, *luuewurðe* adj. 108a², 109a², 110a¹, 112a¹, etc. (28); *stalewurðe* adj. 128b¹, 137b², etc. (5); *un-*, *luuewurði* adj. 129b¹, 130b², 131a², 132 b¹, b², b²; (*un-*, *i*)*wurðchen*, *-eð*, *-et* 3 sg. pres. ind. & opt., pp. 122b¹, 136b¹, 137b¹; *wurðmund* s., *-(s)chiþe* s., *-schipen* etc. v. 113a², 122a¹, 133b², etc. (16); (?) *wurðinge* s. »dung» (< OE *weorð*?) 116a¹ (5) [*unwurð* 15, 18; *de(o)rewurðe* 14, 11; 19a, 4; etc. (14 cases given); *wurðmund* 20, 1; *wurðes* (s. pl. ?) 27a, 13].

unworð s. 121b² (mere slip of the pen? Cf. *wur-* above).

sword s. 145a², b², 146a², 147a¹, a² [*sword* 18, 18 ~ *sweordes* 18, 8].

werc, *werke(s)* s. 106 b¹, b², 114 b¹, etc. (8) [*werc*, *werk(es)* 33a, 25; 40, 9; etc. (5 cases given)].

For *awarpe* etc. inf., imp., pres. ind. & opt. 106a², 111b², etc. (numerous) [16, 16; 40a, 4; etc.], see § 311; the form *aweorþ* sg. pt. 138a², 140a², 145a¹ (~ *wearþ* 138b² ~ *warþ* 125a¹,

138a², 141b¹) has the pt. vowel of the redupl. verbs (cf. BÜLBRING, QF. 63, p. 82; and below C 2). — *swerf* sg. pt. (of *swerven*) 145 b² probably derives from OE *-ear-* (cf. BÜLBRING l. c. p. 81), though *-e*-forms of this kind are rare in this MS. (cf. however MÜHE pp. 135, 152 : *bern*, *merewe*, *werne*).

5. *world*, *-e*, *-es* 107a²(2), b¹, 108a¹, etc. (55); *-lich(e)* adj., 180 *-men* s. pl., *-wittie* s. pl. 113a¹, b², 120a², b², etc. (19; incl. 121b¹, where the MS. has *weo-*, with *-e-* dotted) [*world*, *-li*, *-liche* 15a,1 »etc«.; 15a,13; 21a,7; 23,19; 45,9; 52a,13; 53,8]; ~ *weorlde* gen. sg. 120a¹, a², 121a², 128a¹, 142a¹; ~ *werld*, *-e* 127a² (MORRIS prints *wo-*), a², b², b², 128a¹, 129b², 130a², a², b¹, 132b², b².

woredes s. pl. 110a² ~ *weoredes* 110a¹.

sweouete s. 141b¹. *bidweoled* pp. 140b¹ [*bidweolen* 51a, 10].

weole, *-en* s. (sg. & pl.), *-eful(l)e* adj. 108b¹, 110a¹, 114a², etc. (16) [*weolen* s. pl. 45,10]; ~ *wele*, *-eful(l)e* 120a¹, b², 121a¹, 122b² (or MS. *wel* ?), 127b¹, 128a¹, 130b¹, b², 132b¹, 142a¹, a¹, b², 146b¹ [*wele* 56a,25].

6. [*wérnes* 17a,22]. The pt. [*warnede* 63a,1], if not merely a slip of the pen, may be due to a confusion of this verb with *warn(i)e(n)* »warn», cf. below § 331.

For *for-*, *awaried(e)* s. & adj. (< pp.) 122a¹, 125a¹ etc. (9) [*awarieren*, *-iede* 28a,25; 53a,10], see below § 331.

C.

181

1. *wule*, *wult*, *wulle(ð)* sg. & pl. pres. 109a², 117a², a², 120a¹, b², etc. (26) [*wulleð* pl. pres. ind. 45, 22; 27; 27]; cf. *ichulle* I sg. pres. ind. 106b², 117b¹, 120a¹, etc. (14) (~ *wile*, *wilt*, *willeð* 106a¹, 108a¹, 109a¹, etc. (numerous) [*willen* pl. pres. ind. 49a,21]). *hwuch*, *-cche* pron. 105b¹, b¹, 106a¹, b¹, etc. (34; incl. *hwch* 119b¹), *hwucse* (< OE *-swa*) 106b² (~ [*hwiche* 24,16]). (*al*)*swuch*, *-e*, *-es* 107a¹, 108a¹, 109a¹, etc. (43),

swucche 146a¹ [*swuche* 14,1; 3; »etc.«; *suchan* 14,4] (~ [*swich(e)* 47a,1; 19; 50a, 22; 93a,15]). *wummon* s. sg. 116b¹, 121a², etc. (7) [*wummon* sg. 16a,14] (~ *wimmon* sg. 115b¹ [*wimmon* sg. 17a,13]; *wimmen* pl. 114b¹, 116a², etc. (5) [*wimmen*, *wimenes* pl. 16a,24; 17, 4; 14; 16]).

Otherwise only *wi-*: cf. e. g. *wiste*, *iwist* pt. & pp.; *swip-te(n)* pt.; (-)*hwider*; (-)*hwile*; *swið*, -e, -re (MS. *swuðe* 134b¹ is corrected to *swiðe*); *hwi*.

- 182 2. An influence of *w-* appears in [*tweolue* 52,11] (~ usual *twelf*, etc.), [*forsweolhes* 19a,22] (~ *forswolhe*, -eð sg. & pl. pres. 107a¹, 108a², for which -o-forms see § 356), *toswolled* sg. pres. ind. 116a² (~ *swelleð* 126b¹, (?) *swelin* inf. 122b²). As to the OFr. loan-word *worre* s. »war» 124a² ~ *weorre* s. 116b², 127a¹, etc. (5), *weorri*, -en, -eð inf., sg. & pl. pres. ind. 111b², 113a², 116b¹, b², b², etc. (12) ~ *werren* inf. 133b¹, see § 357.

For the -eo- in *weol* pt. sg. 144a², *weox* pt. sg. 133b¹ (~ *wex* 130a¹, 133b¹; cf. *wesch* pt. sg. 132a¹), see above § 161. — As to *swuti* 136a² (: St. Kath. v. 451), it can hardly be a scribal error for *swete*, *swote*; because also MSS. R & B have -u- (MS. R *sputi*; MS. B *swuti* or *sputi*: EISENKEL, St. Kath.). Probably the MS. R reading *ti sputi speche* is the original one; I do not know of another case of such a word, but it may quite well be an adj. formed from a subst. **spute* (for *dispute*; cf. *spute* etc. v. for *dispute* etc., STRATM.-BRADLEY).

- 183 3. *wurdes* s. pl. 122a¹. *hellewurmes* s. pl., *wurmene* gen. pl. 107a², 124b² [*wurmes* 54,1; 55a,10]. *wurche*, -en, -eð inf., pres. ind. & opt. 114b², 122b¹, 123a², etc. (11; incl. 135a², where the context would be better suited by *wurðcheð*, which verb is used in this place by the other MSS.) [*wurchen*, -es 14,13; 52a,8]. [(a)*wuried*, -es, -ed 53,9; 64,15; 80a,22].

[*wirsum* s. 79a,23]. — Cf. *salm(e)wrihte* s. 112b¹, 132a².

(Cf. *wunne*, -en s. 108b¹, 112a¹, etc. (21) ~ *winne* 117b¹, 120a¹ (: COCKAYNE *wu-*), b¹ (COCKAYNE *wu-*), 122b² (COCKAYNE *wu-*), 146b¹ [*winne* 50a,16; 52,1; etc.]).

4. ¹⁾*word*, -es s. 106b¹, b², 112b¹, etc. (33) [*word*, -es 40a,6; 40a,15].

The pp's (*for*)*wurpen* 129b¹, b², (*i*)*wurðen* 114a², I consider (against BÜLBR. QF 63, p. 121 f.) to have adopted the vowel of the pt. pl. (cf. *wurpen* pt. pl. 143b²; (*i*)*wurðen* pt. pl. 142b¹, 147b¹); cf. below § 379.

For (*a*)*warpen* pp. 122b², 126b², 140b¹ — cf. *wrahte*, -es pt., *iwraht*, -e pp. 106b², 119b², etc. (12) [(*i*)*wraht(e)* 16a,16; etc. (5 cases given)] — see § 311.

Note.

184

wy- does not occur.

Original OE *w ũ* appears only as *wu*- : *wulf* etc. s.; *wunder* etc. s., *wundren* etc. v., *wundri* adj.; *wune* s. »habit», *wun(i)e* etc. v., (*i*)*wuned*, -et adj. (pp.) »wont», *wuninge*, -unge s.; *swungen* pp.; (-)*wurðen* pt. pl. (& pp., cf. C 4); (-)*wurpen* pt. pl. (& pp., cf. C 4); *wunde* etc. s., *wundi* etc. v., *wunden* pp. »wound».

Original OE *w ǒ* appears only as *wo*- : cf. above C 4; further *sworn* pp. 121a², *to swollen* pp. 138a². — The -a- in *walde* etc. pt. 105b¹ (4), 107b¹, etc. (numerous), *nalde* etc. 105b¹, 113b², etc. (9) [*walde* etc., *nalde* etc. 18,3; 18,3; 19,3, etc.] is of OE origin (cf. below § 311); the -a- in [*walcne* s. 63,26] (cf. MORSE. Gr. § 120, anm. 1), if not simply miswritten for *wolcne*, may also go back to OE *a*.

For -eo- = ö, see above § 149. -o- is sometimes (but not very often) substituted for this -eo- (= ö); thus e.g. *dorc* adj. 107b², [*chorl* s. 24a,15; *forcoruen* inf. 14a,9] (:MÜHE p. 50).

¹⁾ In this connection may be mentioned the interjectional *wumme* (< OE *wā me*) 108 b¹, ¹¹ (cf. also KGr. *wumme* M 13/22, J 46/9, 72/15; OEHL *wume* 157/21), where -u- probably has passed through the stage ǝ (< ǝ < ā). This -u- is no doubt to some extent due to w-influence; but the following -m-, and above all the weak-stress position, have also been active in the change. Cf. *nummor(e)* (OE *nā māre*) B 290, 579, where these two factors alone have been at work.

185 *f.* Texts of the Western and Middle South.

1. The Worcester Fragment.

This fragment contains a small part of Ælfric's Grammar, and parts of a short Latin-English glossary and of a poem on the Soul and Body. The fragment was found by Sir T. PHILLIPS and printed by him A. D. 1838 (: Fragment of Ælfric's Grammar, Ælfric's Glossary, and a Poem of the Soul and Body, etc.). — The glossary is also printed in WRIGHT's »Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies», and in the second ed. of this work published by WÜLKER, London 1884 (col. 536 ff.; No. XIII), where according to a foot-note, PHILLIPS' edition »has been carefully corrected». — The glossary seems to be an abridgement of one of the 11th century given in WRIGHT-WÜLKER, col. 307 ff. (No. X); whence probably the purely OWS forms found in our text among the generally later ones.

The MS. is of the 12th century (: PHILLIPS op. cit., WRIGHT-WÜLKER op. cit.) and its language has the main characteristics of the Western and Middle South (MORSB. Gr. p. 9).

186 A.

nulleþ 3 pl. pres. ind. 10/22, 12/8, 20.

B.

1. *bitwuxen* 2/15.

wiht s. »wight» 13/2; *nowiht* pron. 13/11, 15/14.

2. *wurst* sup. 13/17, 15/18.

3. *superwude* »abrotanum» 6/1; *drize wude* »ligna» 6/16.

Wireceastre n. pr. 9/20. — *idwimor* »fantasma» 5/17. *iwita* »testis» 5/11; *buruh wita* s. 8/7. *hwifa* s. »auro» 5/13.

187 4. *beworpen* inf. 13/7.

iwurþan inf. 3/9; (*i*)*wurþe* sg. pres. opt. 15/25 (MS. *iwu*..., corresponding to Lat. »fiat»), 16/14. — Here may also be

given (cf. § 9) : *unwurþ* adj. 11/24, *wurðliche* adv. 16/19; ...*wurþc* adj. 9/16, *deor(e)wurþe* adj. 11/17, 15/28; *wurþest* sup. 11/27; ~ *worþi3* »predium» 8/10.

cweornstan »mola» 7/19. — *sweorbeah* »monile» 4/22; *sweorcops* »boia» 9/3; (?) *sweor* (MS. *sp*-) »columna» 6/27.

andweorc, -*rke* s. 8/16, 15/24; ~ *werc* »opus» 4/4, *wercston* »saxum» 8/15, *werke* s. 13/17.

swerdes ord »mucro» 8/2 (: WRIGHT-WÜLKER. But PHILLIPS has *sweo*-).

dwæruh »nanus» 4/7 (cf. for -*æ*- : *mærkung* s. 1/20 ~ *merkunge* 1/20; *færser* »verses» 1/19 ~ regular *ver*-).

5. *worldæ* 9/27.

weole, -*en*, -*æn*, -*an* s. sg. & pl. 11/11, 21, 12/5, 6, 9, 22. *sweoli* s. »cauma» 5/15.

weler s. »labium» 3/13. *weli* adj. »dives» 4/15.

6. No cases.

C.

188

1. *wule* 3 sg. pres. ind. 13/6; *wulle* 1 sg. pres. ind. 16/4, 3 sg. pres. opt. 1/22; *wulleþ* pl. pres. ind. 12/22, 24, etc. (11). *hwæche*, -*es* 1/14, 2/4, 5; *ihwulche*, -*lke* 2/12, 15 (MS. ...*wulke*), 28; *ihwulke* 1/21; *ihulke* 2/7. (?) *grundeswulie* »simitia» 6/2 (SWEET, Dict.: OE -*we*-, -*wi*-, -*wy*-). — *hwule* s., -*on* adv. 2/26, 11/1, 12/25, 13/13 [~ *hwile*, -*on* 2/27 (MS. ...*ilon*), 11/12, 13/16]. *swuþe* 10/23, 11/7, 17, 28, 13/27. [Cf. *hwui* 11/11 ~ *hwi* 2/8, 13/13, 16/3].

Otherwise only *wi*-.

2. No w-influence. — *weolcne* »nubes» 5/14, *weopinde* 10/5, go back to OE *æ* < o + i-umlaut; *cwuld* »pestis» 5/5, to OWS *y* < *ie* < *ea* + i-umlaut.

3. *slowurm*, *wurmes*, -*en* 5/30, 11/26, 12/17, 23, 26 (MS. *wur*...), 13/14. (*biscop*-, *mug*)*wurt* s. 6/1, 3, 9; *wurtun* 8/10. *wurcchen* inf. 13/3: (-) *wurhta*-, -*æ*, -*ena* »operarius», etc. 4/3, 5, 9, 19. [Cf. *wunne* s. 10/13].

4. *word*, -*e*, -*es* 2/13, 18, etc. (10). — *iworþen* pp. (?)

15/26; ~ *iwurþen* pp. 15/26 (: probably with the vowel of the pl. pt., cf. § 379). — Cf. *wrohten* pl. pt. 13/15 ~ (*i*)*wrouhte* pt. sg. & pp. 14/9, 15/21, 24.

189 Note

wy- does not occur (*-y-* only once : *synne* s. 15/20).

Original OE *wū* appears only as *wu-*: *wulder*, *-dre* s. 13/20, 14/29; *wulf* s. 5/24; *biwunden* pp. 10/9, 16; *wunien* etc. v. & s. 10/13, 11/1, etc. (6); *iwunede* adj. 14/6; *wurpe* 2 sg. pt. ind. 12/16; further probably *iwurþen* pp., cf. C 4.

Original OE *wō* appears only as *wo-*: cf. C 4; further *wolde*, *-est* pt. 13/29, 15/3, 16/18, (and *nolde*, *-est* 11/11, 13, 21, 12/15, 13/2 etc. (11; incl. MS. *nold*... 15/2)).

OE *eo* is frequently rendered by *-eo-*; but also sometimes by *-e-* & *-æ-* (: cf. above B 4).

190 II. The "Old English Homilies" (MS. Lambeth 487).

Edited by R. MORRIS: Old English Homilies I. (EETS. Orig. Ser. 29, 34. London 1867, 1868). Different handwritings are discernible in the MS., one in fol. 1-59 b, another in fol. 59 b - 65 a (: the Moral Ode, cf. MORRIS op. cit. p. V, note 2), and a third (cf. MORRIS op. cit. p. VII) in fol. 65 b-67 a (: the end).

I deal here with the work of the first scribe (MORRIS pp. 3-159), with the exception of piece No. VI (MORRIS pp. 55-71) whose phonology differs somewhat, though not very materially, from that of the other pieces [cf. O. COHN: Die Sprache in der mittellenglischen Predigtsammlung der Hs. Lambeth 487 (Diss. Berlin 1880), § 5 f.].

Nos. IX and X (MORRIS pp. 87-119) and part (MORRIS pp. 121/32 - 123/24) of No. XI are transliterations of Ælfric's

Homilies (cf. MORRIS p. XI f.); and for these pieces and possibly also for others, we have to take into account the probability of an influence on the orthography of our MS., of the (direct or indirect) late OE source (cf. MORSB. Gr. p. 6 f.). Apart from the archaisms which may be due to this cause, the MS. presents a great number of purely orthographical inaccuracies, which fact considerably reduces the reliability of isolated abnormal forms.

According to MORSB. Gr. pp. 7, 10, the MS. belongs to the last quarter of the 12th century and is written »von einem südwestlichen schreiber«.

A.

191.

nuten pl. pres. 75/9; *nuste*, -en pt. 19/26, 91/34, 93/4. — *nul(l)e* 3 sg. pres. 9/29, 35, etc. (23); *nult* 2 sg. 117/11, *nulleð* 2 & 3 pl. 15/13, 34, etc. (6); ~ *nele* 3 sg. 105/14, *nelleð* 1 pl. 107/18.

B.

1. *ful(l)uht*, -e s. 73/4, 91/14, etc. (5); cf. *fulehte* 91/16, *ful(l)ht*, -beda s., -les adj. 37/17, 73/12, etc. (6); *iful(c)hten*, -ted v. 73/15, 27, 141/23 (and *ifulzed* etc. pp. 37/18 etc.). *bi-twuxan* 91/23, *bitwuxe* 105/28, 131/5 ~ *bitwixen*, -an 115/5, 125/18. — *be-twihan* 37/3.

(e)*awiht* 3/9, 31/30, etc. (4); *nawiht* pron. & adv. 15/14, 17/30, etc. (32; incl. -*wicht* 147/9, 9) [cf. *noht* pron. & adv. 17/12, 19/31, etc. (21); ~ *naut* adv. 25/21, 24, etc. (13); ~ *nauht* adv. 105/31, 111/11, 123/12].

2. *wurse* comp. 27/28, 43/5, 85/8; *wursien* v. 47/24. — For *wurð* -e s. & adj., etc., see below B 4.

3. *suteliche* adv. 41/9. *uten* »let us« 107/6, 111/11. *sustersg.*, 192 -*tre(n)* pl. 5/18, 7/4, 23/12, 137/17, 147/1, 157/10. *twa* »twice« 99/15, 23 (: if -w- = u; cf. the OWS variant *tu(w)a*).

wike s. 139/9. *quic* adj. 79/5, etc. (6); (a)*quikeð* 3 sg. pres. ind., -ien inf. 81/6, 8. *swica* s. 25/25; *swike* adj. 53/21;

swikel adj. 43/33; *swikian* inf. 93/1. *twizen* »twice» 37/16. — *widewe*, *-ewan*, *-ewehad* s. 25/20, 20, 115/20. (*i*)*witen*, *-an* inf., pl. pres. ind. »know» 9/19, 15/7, etc. (10), *wite* 3e imp. 9/3, 11/27, 91/6 [*wite* (*þe*) imp. & pres. opt. 23/17 etc., *wite-*, *witicrist* 27/33, etc., *wit* 3 sg. pres. ind. 21/20, 85/19]; (*bi*)*witen*, *-ene*, *-eð* inf., pl. imp. »guard» 23/26, 45/3, etc. (7).

- 193 4. Here may be given (cf. § 9) *wurð* s. 31/25, 91/24, 127/10 (cf. *weo-*, below); (*un*)*wurð*, *-e* adj. 49/10, 107/8, etc. (7); *wurdliche* adj. 47/1; *unwurliche* adv. 101/12; *de(o)re-wurð(e)*, *-rþe* adj. 19/9, 79/18, etc. (5); *stalewurðe* adj. 25/12; *wurð-*, *wurþian*, *-(i)en*, etc. v. 11/24, 28, etc. (9), *iwurðegede* pp. 137/5; *wurðinge*, *-þunge* s. 7/10, 9/9, 109/27; *wurðment* s. 107/31; *wurð-*, *wurþscipe* s. 5/4, 129/19; (?) *wurþinge* s. »rubbish» 85/25 (< OE *weorð*?). — As to *weordes* 25/24 (for *monne weordes ðinge*), the context favours an original (OE) *weorðes* gen. sg., but the scribe very probably took the form for the gen. sg. of *word* (cf. C 4).

forwordon inf. 13/33 ~ (*for-*, *i*)*wurðe*, *-en*, *-an*, *-eð* inf., pres. opt., pl. & 1 sg. pres. ind. 13/29, 73/20, etc. (5); further (if not to B 2, cf. §§ 9, 276) *forwurðest* 2 sg. pres. ind. 35/17, (*for-*, *i*)*wurð* 3 sg. pres. ind. 73/8 (MS. *-rh*), 97/22, 109/31. — *þe or ð* 13/35 is probably due to the scribe's inability to read (and understand) his source in this place (which probably had *weorð* 3 sg. pres. ind.).

sworde s. (69/15), 155/9.

forworpen pl. pres. 105/14; *aworþeð* 3 sg. pres. ind. 113/13 ~ *to-*, *awerþeð* 3 sg. pres. ind. 25/15, 109/7. — For *warpest* 2 sg. pres. ind. 7/17 (cf. *iwarpen* pp., C 4), see § 311.

worc(an), *-rke* s. 101/7, 107/8, 125/21; ~ *weorc*, *-rke(s)* s. 31/26, 45/12, 47/3, 93/21, 99/13; ~ *werke(s)*, *-rcas*, *-r(c)kan* s. 9/28, 17/14, etc. (15); *hondiwer* s. 129/20.

sweore s. »neck» 49/28.

werue s. »horse» 79/9, 85/3.

- 194 5. *world*, *-e*, *-es* 7/20, 21/10 (MS. *-lð*), etc. (30); *woreld*

19/35, *worulde* dat. sg. 129/31; *worles* gen. sg. 27/34; *wordle* 33/30; *wor(ld)liche* adj. 149/10, 155/23; ~ *weorld*,-e, -es 21/8, 33/25, etc. (15); *weordliche* adj. 101/10.

wole s. 145/6 ~ *weole* s. 145/10 ~ *wele*, -a(n), -ene, -ena s. 5/25, 13/18, etc. (9).

weozes s. pl. 5/35 ~ *weies* s. pl. 7/7, 49/33, etc.

6. *wernen* inf. 75/2, 85/23, 137/7. *weried* 3 sg. pres. 109/27, *aweriede* pp. 49/10 (~ *awariede* pp. 23/34, 153/14, see § 331).

wermþe s. 37/33 (not found in OE) may belong here; but its vowel might also represent OE -e a r-: cf. *wernede* pt. »warned» 13/16, *wernast*, -að 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. 111/21, 117/13 (~ *warniene* 109/16), *werð* sg. pt. 133/22, 157/3 (~ -ea-, ~-a-), *werþ* sg. pt. 129/6 (~ -a-), and further forms such as *erme* adj., *herm(e)* s., *bern* s., etc.

C.

195

1. An -u- due to the influence of w- appears in the following forms of »will» pres. »which», »such»: *wulle* 1, 2, 3 sg. pres. 13/20, 15/1, etc. (21), *wule* 3 sg. 19/21, 21/29, etc. (29), *wult* 2 sg. 25/1, 2, 37/19, *wulleð* 1 & 3 pl. 7/18, 15/5, etc. (6), *wullet* 1 pl. 11/10, *wule(ð)* 1 pl. 41/8, 77/16 [~ *wille* 1 & 3 sg. 13/18, 23/3, 143/23, *wile* 1 & 3 sg. 13/14, 17/34, etc. (25), *wilt* 2 sg. 33/4, *wille* 2 pl. 13/34, *wil(l)en* 1 & 3 pl. 75/3, 153/17]; (*h*)*wulc*, -lche pron. 11/17, 15/7, etc. (6), *hulche* 27/18, *iwulche* 105/13; cf. *uwelche* (probably standing for -wu-) 19/36 [~ (*h*)*wilc*, -lche 15/15, 19/11, etc. (6), *hwiche* 85/22, 145/14, etc. (8), *i*-, *e*-, *uwilc*, -lch, -lche(n), -lcum 11/29, 13/2 (MS. *uwil*), etc. (19)]; *swulc*, -lche 51/31, 91/20, etc. (8), *al swuch(e)* 83/6, 133/34, *sulche* 137/10 [~ *swilc*, -lcne, -lche 17/10, 21/6, etc. (10), *alswich* 83/20, *swiche* 147/33, 157/2, 9, 18]. — The forms *hwle* s. 29/11, 25 (: usually *wh*-, (*h*)*wile* s. & adv. 7/14, 22, etc.), *swmminde* pres. p. 51/32 (~ *swimmeð* etc. 51/32, 33, etc.), are probably meant for -wu-, or are mere slips of the pen (cf. e. g. *awnde* 97/27 = *awende* pt.).

Most words have only *wi-* : cf. e. g. *hwider* adv. 155/22; (*bi*)*wiste(n)* pt. 19/27, 41/29, etc.; *wifmon* sg. 15/18, 133/12, *wifmen* pl. 47/3 ~ *wimmen* pl. 53/19, 23; *swiðe* adv. 7/20, 25, 9/26, etc.; cf. also *hwi* adv. 33/36, 43/29, etc. — *welle* s. »will» 21/12 (~ *wil*, -*lle* s. 27/15, 29/16, etc.) is probably miswritten for *wi-*.

196 2. Generally no *w*-influence appears : cf. e. g. *wēpen* etc. v., *wepmon* s., *twelue* etc., *wemmed* etc. pp. The only doubtful cases are *weo* »we» (55/3, 5, 9, 24), 107/1, 5, and perhaps *weoren* pl. pt. »were» 135/4 (: usually *we*, *weren*); in both forms -*eo-* may however stand for -*e-*, as there are a few certain cases of this kind (see below § 198). — As to *forswole* 3 sg. pres. ind. 123/11, see § 356.

3. *and-wurde* pt. 91/1 ~ *andwerde* (probably = -*wur-*) 91/13. *wurmes* s. pl. 51/27, 79/25. *wurche*, -*en(ne)*, -*eð* inf., pl. pres. ind. 81/29, 109/35, 117/32, 139/2. (*salm*)*wurhta(n)*, -*e(n)* s. 93/22, 25, etc. (7). [Cf. *wunne* s. 143/36, etc. (4), *wunsemeste* sup. 35/14; ~ *winne* s. 147/7 (: for -*i-*, -*e-* < OE $\bar{y}$ in other positions, see COHN pp. 11, 13)].

4. (*here*)*word*, -*e*, -*es* s. 15/4, 31/9, 75/8, etc. (30); ~ *weord*, -*e*, -*es* 45/10, 47/25, etc. (10; cf. also *weordes* above, B 4); ~ *wurden* s. pl. 117/25 (miswritten ?). — *iweorht* pp. 111/34 [~ *warhte* pt. 91/25, 97/25, *iwerat* pp. 45/25, see § 311]. — Here may also belong *iweorden* pl. pt. 91/20, 99/1, which probably has the vowel of the pp. (: thus explained by COHN p. 21). — For *iwarpen* pp. 143/29 (cf. *warpest* pres. B 4), see § 311.

197 Note.

wy- does not occur.

Original OE *w* $\bar{u}$ appears as *wo-* in *wonied* pl. imp. 73/17; otherwise always as *wu-* (and *w-*): *swummen* pl. pt., *wunian* etc. v. (~ *wnian*, -*ieð* 25/15, 159/3), *wununge*, -(*i*)*inge* s., *iwunede* pp. »wont», -*eliche* adv., *wunder* etc. s., *wunde* s., (-)*wundie* etc. v., (*bi*)*wunden* pp. »wound». [-*u-* represents

OE $\ddot{u}$ also in other positions; I have only noticed the exception *comen* inf. 9/34].

Original OE $w\ddot{o}$ appears, with the exceptions given in C 4, only as *wo-*: cf. C 4; further *forsworene* pp., *-enese* s. 103/17, 143/27, *wolde*, *-est* pt. 93/1, 149/14 (cf. *nolde* 123/4) [$\sim$ *wal-de(n)* pt. 5/20, 7/11, etc. (cf. *nalde(n)* 5/20, 7/11, etc.), see § 311], *dwolunge* s. 117/23, *aswolkenesse* 83/25.

-eo- (in many words $\sim$ *-e-*, also in such as have only *-eo-* 198 in OE, cf. COHN p. 10) generally goes back to OE $\ddot{e}$ o (cf. COHN p. 19); this is no doubt also the case in (a)*beoren*, *-an*, *-eð* inf., 3 pl. pres. ind. 35/26, 51/28, 125/7, *forsteolan* inf. 109/34, *feole* »many» 41/27, *to breocan* inf. 127/34, and perhaps (by analogy) in *for-heole* 3 sg. pres. opt. 37/13, *tobreoce* sg. imp. 33/7, some of which forms are given by COHN p. 20 as cases of *-eo-* for OE $\ddot{e}$. In a similar way, the frequent use (according to COHN p. 21) of *-eo-* »beim bestimmten Artikel und pron. pers. III.» may be due to an extension (though perhaps only orthographically) of regular *-eo-*-forms. Of the other *-eo-*-forms given as irregular by COHN op. cit., *sweote* 53/22 ($\sim$ *swete*), *breoðre* s. pl. 23/11, 41/3 ($\sim$ *-o-*, *-e-*), derive from OE $\bar{o}$ + i-umlaut; and *seolcuð* 41/27 (OE *sel(d) - cūð*) appears with *-eo-* also in KGr., where *-eo-* is not otherwise used for $\ddot{e}$ (cf. BÜLBRING, Bo. Btr XV p. 139). Thus there remain of COHN's cases of *-eo-* for *-e-* (< OE $\ddot{a}$, $\ddot{e}$) — the completeness of which cases is however very doubtful — only *heoueden*, *heofde(n)* pt. sg. & pl. »had» 5/27, 9/17, 21/30 (OE $\bar{a}$), *todreofden* pl. pt. »dispersed» 93/24 (OE $\bar{a}$), *un-aneomned* pp. »innumerable» 43/6 (OE $\ddot{e}$), *streonge* adj. »strong» 131/7 (OE $\ddot{e}$, or more probably, OE $\ddot{o}$). — Further there is *heofod* 103/4, probably miswritten for *-ea-* (cf. e. g. *heaued* s. 9/19). — Finally, there are some cases of *-eo-* for *-o-* (= $\bar{o}$, $\bar{o}$, $\ddot{o}$), no doubt due to the frequent use of *-o-* for *-eo-* (see § 199). Of COHN's cases of this kind (p.

21) we may perhaps disregard *leosað* 3 sg. 139/30 (OE *losað*), which may have the vowel of OE *lēosan*, and *leof* (song) 7/10, where the scribe may have had in view the adj. *lēof*; but there remain the certain cases *feorleoseð* 135/33 (OE *for-*), *eoðre* »other» 43/25, *heoranna*, *heordom* »whore-» 103/15, 115/20, *neodæles* »nevertheless» 137/21 (: also in KGr., cf. BÜLBRING l. c. p. 139), *heolia* »holy» 93/35; cf. also the cases under C 4, above. To these should be added *heorde* s. »hoard» 111/7, *þeor-nen* s. pl. 133/21, *bleode* s. »blood» 127/16; and I do not doubt there are still more, as I have not specially been on the look-out for such forms.

199 -o- (in many words ~ -eo-, -e-) appears very often for OE *eo*: cf. e. g. *orðe* »earth», *horte* »heart», *lorne* »learn», *horde* s. 75/10, 85/6 (OE *hierde*, *heorde*) etc., *sof* etc. »self», *zolewe* »yellow»; *fond* »fiend», *frond* »friend», *iso* »see», *þro* »three», *prost* »priest», etc.

III. The Owl and The Nightingale.

Two MSS. are known: MS. Cotton Caligula A. 9, Brit. Mus. (MS. C), of the first half of the 13th century, and MS. Arch. I 29, Jes. Coll., Oxford (MS. A), of the second half of the 13th century. Editions of the poem have been published by STEVENSON (Roxburghe Club, 1838), TH. WRIGHT (Percy Soc. 11, 1843), F. H. STRATMANN (Krefeld 1868), J. E. WELLS (Belles-Lettres Series, Boston & London 1907; both MSS. printed in full), and by W. GADOW (Palæstra No. 65, Berlin 1909; critical edition founded on MS. C, but giving all the variants of MS. A).

The poem was probably written in Dorsetshire about A. D.

1200 (cf. GADOW § 5 f.). — The MSS. both belong to the Southern dialect.

I have followed GADOW's edition. As a rule I have only recorded the forms of MS. C.

[The MS. variations $w \sim u \sim v$ (for w) and $f \sim u \sim v$ (for f) are not always recorded in my quotations].

A.

201

nute pl. pres. ind. 1010; *nuste*, -est pt. 1300, 1441, 1751.
— *nulle*, -eþ, *nultu* 905, 909, 913, 1210, 1639, 1764 ~ *nele*,
nelle, -eþ, *neltu* 150, 452, 653, 1482.

B.

1. *bétuxen* 1747.

unwizt (~-ht), -e, -is, -es s. 33, 87 (: *rizte* adj.), 90 (: *anizt*),
204, etc. (15). *nowizt* (~-ht) 884, 928; *nawiht* 1324 [cf. *o3t*
662 f.; *no3t* pron. & adv. 58, 102, etc. (numerous), *noht* 549,
naht 1480 (: *aht* adj.), *nout*, -wt 1391, etc. (4), *nawt* 1470, etc.
(3)].

2. *worse* comp. 303 (: *mersche* s.), 505; *worste* sup. 10; ~
wurs, -e comp. 793, 1408, 1416; ~ *wrs*¹) comp. 34; *wrste* sup.
121 (: *to berste*). — For 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. of *wurðen*, and
for *wurð* adj. etc., see B 4.

3. *wude* 615, 1626; *wudewale* s. 1659. *ute* »let us» 1779.

wte pres. opt. 440 (: *wlite*), cf. B 2, foot-note (may also be-
long to C 1); ~ *wite* inf. 1139, 1281, 1319, 1673 [*witest* 2 sg.
pres. ind. 1045, *wite* pres. opt. 1443, 1467 (: *utschute* s.; the

¹) *w* appears for *wu-* in the following cases (in MS. C): *wrs*, *wrste* (2; cf. B 2); (*un*)*wrþ* adj. (3), *wrþsipe* s. (1), *wrþ* pres. (MS. *wrht*) (1), *wrþe* inf., etc. (2; cf. B 4); *wle* etc. pres. ind. (3; cf. C 1); *wrchen* inf. (1; cf. C 3); *wnder*, *wndri* (2), *wnest* pres. (1), *wnienge* s. (1), *wrþe* pt. opt. (1). Perhaps also in *wte* pres. opt. 440 (: *wlite*); cf. -i- -u- rimes together in *wite* pres. opt.: *utschute* (OE *y*) 1467, *ofligge*: *bugge* 1505, *stude*: *nide* 1767. — But *wse* »wise» 54 (: *rise*) is no doubt miswritten for *wise*, bec use except for *swuþe*, *wummon* (see below C 1) there are no cases of *wu-* for OE *wī*.

original may have had -*ū*- or -*i*-, cf. BÜLBR. El. § 308, GADOW § 51].

swikelhede, -*dom* 162, 163, 838.

- 202 4. *sworde* s. 1068. *worþ*, -*e*, -*eþ* imp. sg., inf., pres. pl. 121, 596, 768. — *swore* s. »neck» 73, 1125 (MS. *spore*) (: *dore* s. »deer»).

wurþe pres. opt. 1382, *wrþe* inf., pres. opt. 846, 1173; further (if not to B 2, cf. §§ 9, 276) the 3 sg. pres. ind. forms *wurþ* 1158, *wrþ* (MS. *wrht*) 548 ~ *worþ* 405.

Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *wurþ* adj. 769, 1550; *wurþ-ful* 1481; *wur(þ)schiþe* s. 1288, 1344; ~ (*un*)*wrþ* 339, 340 (rimed together), 572; *wrþsiþe* 1099.

5. *worlde*, -*es* 476, 1280, 1363.

weole s. pl. 1273 (: *veole*). *dweole*(-) s. 926, 1239 (cf. *dwole*, § 205).

[Cf. *fale* (~ *u*-, *v*-) (OE *fe(o)la*, *fealo*) 628, 1371, etc. (5); ~ -*eole* (3); ~ -*ele* (7; incl. the rime: *forhele* v. 797)].

6. *werne(n)* inf. 614, 1358 (: *derne* adv.).

203 C.

1. *wul(l)e*, *wult(u)*, *wulleþ* pres. ind. & opt. 630, 903, etc. (19; incl. rimes : *schule* pres. opt. (ü) 1748, : *gult* s. (ü) 1409, : *agrule* v. (ü ?) 1109) ~ *wle*, *wlt*, *wlleþ* pres. ind. 406, 499, 896 [~ *wil(l)e*, *wilt(u)* sg. pres. ind. & opt. 77, 165, etc. (10; incl. the rime : *sckile* s. 185)]. *hwuc(c)h(e)* 936, 1319, etc. (6; only form). *swuc(c)h(e)* 1307, 1324, etc. (14) [~ *swich(e)* 178, 405, etc. (8)]. *wuste* pt. 10 (: *custe* s.) [~ *wiste* 116 (: *wiste*, MS. A *custe* s.; the original probably had *wuste* : *custe*), 147, 160, 940] (for *wte* pres. opt., see B 3). — *wummon* sg. 1359, 1387, etc. (4); pl. 1350 [~ *wimman*, -*e* sg. 1379, 1413; *wimmon*, -*men* pl. 1355 1357]. — *swuþe* 1561, 1591; *suþe* 2, 12, 155 . . . 1128 (13) [~ (-)*swiþ*, -*e* 376 f., 1175, 1245, etc. (8)].

All other words have only -*i*-; cf. e. g. *hwi*, *w(h)i* 150, 218, etc.; *wider* adv. 724; (*h*)*wile* s. & adv. 6, 199, etc.

2. *wolcumeþ* 440 [*~ welcume* adj. 1600]. For *worre* s. »war» 385 (: *forre* comp.), see § 357.

Generally no *w*-influence; cf. e. g. *twelve* 836 (: *solve* »self»¹), *wel* adv., *were* s. »man» 1341 (: *copenere*); etc. — *weolcne* s. 1682 has *-ö-* < OE *æ* < *o* + *i*-umlaut; cf. e. g. § 188.

3. *wormes* s. pl. 51.

204

wrchen inf. 408 ~ *wirche* inf. 722 (: *chirche*). — [Cf. *wun(n)e* s. 272 (: *cunne* s.), 1100 (: *cunne* s.)].

4. *word*, *-e*, *-es* s. 45, 139, etc. (37; incl. rimes: *acorde* s., *Guldeforde* n. pr., *hord* s., *borde* s., *orde* s. 182, 192, 468, 480, 1067, 1223, 1580, 1711, 1786; : *for-*, *iworþe* pp. 547, 659; and *worde* : *shitworde* 285 f.). *iworþe* pp. 1121. *for-*, *iworþe* pp. 548, 573, 575, 660 (incl. 2 rimes: *word*, cf. above); the variant *forwurde* pp. 1491 (: *borde* s.) probably has the *-u-* of the pl. pt., etc. (cf. § 379), and if so, does not belong here. — [Cf. *wra 3te* pt. 106 (: *ha 3te* pt.); < OE *-a-*, see § 311].

Note.

205

wy- does not occur in MS. C.

Original OE *w ũ* appears as *wu-* (*w-*, *-u-*) and (rarely) as *wo-*: *wulves* s. pl. 1008; *wunder* s. 361 etc. (3), *wnder* s. 852 (and *winder* 1384; probably miswritten), *wndri* 1 sg. pres. 228; *aswunde* pp. 1480, *asunde* 534; *iwune* pp. (adj.) 1320 (: *kume* s.); *wuneþ* pres. ind. 338, 1752, *wnest* 2 sg. 589 (: *schunest*); *wnienge* s. 614; *wrþe* pt. opt. 400 (and probably *forwurde* pp., cf. C 4); — *woning* s. 1760; *iwone* s. 475 (: *frome*, OE *ŭ*).

Original OE *w ǒ* appears only as *wo-* (for *forwurde* pp., see above): cf. C 4; further *wolde*, *-est* pt. 70, 84, etc. (10; incl. rimes: *schulde* pt. 1261, : *scholde* pt. 1692) [cf. *nolde* pt. 159, 1080, 1742]; *toswolle* pp. 145; *iswolze* pp. 146 (: *ibolwe* pp.); probably also (cf. SWEET, OET p. 578, OE *dwolian*) *dwole* s. 825 (: *hole* s.), 1777 (: *Nichole*) (~ *dweole* s., see B 5).

¹) This rime may, but need not necessarily imply an *ö*-form of *twelve* in the language of the author.

OE ē o generally appears as -o- (never as -eo-) in vv. 1-900, 970-1190; generally as -eo (rarely as -o-) in the remaining vv. 901-969, 1191-1792 (: our MS. has evidently been copied from two different MSS., cf. GADOW p. 93). — -eo- and -o- in these cases no doubt stand for -ō- in the language of the scribe (or author); they can hardly be a traditional spelling for ē̃, since the cases of -e- for OE ē̃ o are very few (: *sterre* s. (1), *here* pron. (3), *he* pron. »she» (6), *be* v. (2), *prest* s. (2), *wede* s. »weed» (1); cf. GADOW §§ 36, 38, 44, 64).

IV. Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

Edited by W. A. WRIGHT : The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester [London 1887; in »Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain» etc.]; mainly from MS. Cotton Caligula A. 11 (: MS. A), written (according to PABST § 1) about 1320-30. I have only considered this MS. (i. e. WRIGHT vv. 1-12049); not also the 152 vv. introduced by WRIGHT (after v. 4920) from MS. Harl. 201 (to fill a gap of two leaves in MS. A), or the later 592 vv. printed by WRIGHT in App. XX (cf. PABST § 3).

The dialect of MS. A does not differ materially from that of the poem itself (as evidenced by the rimes), which is that of Gloucestershire ab. A. D. 1300 (: MORSE. Gr. p. 10).

For other MSS. of the Chronicle, for its authors, etc., I refer to KÖRTING, Grundriss § 119, EILERS p. 128, and F. PABST: Die Sprache der mittlengl. Reimchronik des Rob. von Gloucester (I. Lautlehre, Diss. Berlin 1889. II. Formenlehre, in Anglia 13).

[I have not always recorded the MS. variations *w* ~ *u* (= *w*), *v* ~ *u* (= *v* for *f*-)].

A.

nute, -eþ 3 pl. pres. ind. 4375, 9409; *nuste* pt. 303, 307, 363, etc. (numerous; incl. rimes: *wuste* pt. 596, : *truste* 2561, : *kuste* pt. 3349). — *inel(l)e*, *nelt*, *nel* 1, 2, 3 sg. pres. ind. 727, 1258, 2241, etc. (11; incl. the rime: *telle* v. 10295); ~ *nolle*, -eþ pl. pres. ind. 814, 2208, 4825, 4827, etc.

B.

1. *wizt* »Isle of Wight» 33, 7742 (: *ri3t*), 7992. *wiztleg* n. pr. (son of Woden) 4693. *wizt*, -es s. »wight» 2750, 10996 (: *ri3t*). [Cf. (n)*azt*, -e 185, 504, etc.; 3798 etc. (numerous; rimed : -*azt* 4135, 4302, 4371, 9421); ~ (n)*o3t* 8, 47, etc. (numerous; incl. several rimes: -*o3t*); ~ (n)*ou3t* 1317, 2018, 9649, etc.; ~ (n)*out* 6896 (rimed : -*o3t*), 9648 (: *o3t*), 9996, etc.].

wiztemen s. pl. 456 seems to contain the adj. *wiht* »brave» etc. (cf. § 255).

2. *wors*, -e comp. 10, 846, 1063, etc. (22); *worst*, -e sup. 2865, 5211, etc. (5). — For 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. of *wurðen* v., and for *wurð*, -e s. & adj. etc., see B 4.

3. *wode*, -es s. 12, 145, 456, etc. (25), *wodestoke* n. pr. 208 9046 f., 10870. (*bed*)*soster* 630, 880, etc. (21), *soster sone(s)* 867, etc. (8), *sostren* pl. 712, 721, etc. (7).

wuke s. 7942 ~ *wouke* 2431, 2434, etc. (14), *witesonewouke* 10542.

wute 2 pl. pres. ind. 9360; *wteþ* 3 pl. pres. ind. 122 (: probably = *wu-*); ~ *wetep* pl. pres. ind. 122; ~ (i-, y)*wite*, -en inf., -eþ pres. pl. 188 (: *iwrite* pp.), 224, etc.; 4049 etc. (numerous); *ywyte* inf. 4400. — *wurce(s)t(e)re*, -ssire n. pr. 67, 7914, etc. (11); *wrcestre* 94; ~ *wirce(s)tre*, -ssire 38, 93, etc. (12).

quic, -ike, -icliche adj. & adv. 1647, 3806, 4166, etc. (19); *quichelmeslewe* n. pr. 6005 (: Cucklamsley Hill in Berkshire). *suike* etc. s. (OE *swica*) 2293, 4515, etc. (6) [cf. *suikedom*, -e 4822, etc.]; *suikelhede* s. 7332. *twie*, -ye »twice» 1301

(: -*ie*), 4556 (: *ýe*), 4698 (: -*ýe*), 9018. — *widewe* s. 9062. *witic* inf. »guard» 2180, 2863, etc.

- 209 4. (*i*-, *y*)*worþe(n)*, -*rþ* inf., sg. imp., pl. & 1 sg. pres. ind. 1535, 2330, etc. (7); further (or belonging to B 2, cf. §§ 9, 276) *worst* 2 sg. pres. ind. 2232, 3194; *worþ* 3 sg. pres. ind. 336, 888, 982, etc. (39). — *worc*, -*rk(e)* s. 2710, 2760, etc. (10); *vorcmen* s. 2707; *nyweworc*, *newework* (= Newark in Nottingham) 9220, 10552; further probably (with the vowel of the subst.) *worke* inf. 3069 (cf. C 3).

Here may also be given (cf. § 9) *worþ* s. 7679, 7681; *worþ* adj. 718, 810 f., etc. (17); *worþe* adj. 890, 1155, etc. (7); *stalworþe*, -*rdre*, etc. 210, 435, etc. (5); *worþi* v. 3037; ~ *wurþ* s. 7874; *wurþ* adj. 7677, 8814, etc. (8); (*un*)*wurþi*, -*rþe* adj. 3224, 3466, etc. (13), *wrþi* 1417; *begh*-, *cha*-, *keni(n)g(es)*-, *tamewurþe* n. pr. 11491; 11500; 11445, 11642, etc.; 5480 (17). — Cf. *stalwarþe* adj. 1108, 2679, 3387; -*warde*, -*wardeste*, etc. 428, 613, 867, etc. (47) (: § 312).

suere s. »neck» 8009 (: *dere* adj.), 9458. — *suerd*, -*e*, -*es* s. 386, 387, 1121, etc. (63).

5. *world*, -*e*, -*es* 2, 181, 190, etc. (51), *worl*, -*es* 1073, 1076, 3762, 5116.

[Cf. *f*-, *vale* adj. (OE *feola*, etc.) passim; rimed : *tale* s. 3067, 5740].

6. *wurne* inf. 7553 (: *biturne* inf.), *wurnde* pt. 11471 (: *turnde* pt.).

210 C.

1. *wol*, *wol(l)e*, *wolt(ou)* pres. sg. ind. & opt. 282, 284, 335, etc. (numerous); *wolleþ*, *wole* 1, 2, 3 pl. pres. ind. 2209, 2469, etc. (numerous); cf. *icholle* sg. pres. ind. 713, 717, 1333, etc. (numerous); ~ *wul(l)e* 3 sg. & pl. pres. ind. 558, 1091 [~ *wil(l)e*, -*i*, *wilt* 1 & 2 sg., *willeþ* 3 pl. pres. ind. 205, 280, 284, 701, 2192, 2829, etc.; cf. *willed*, -*e* pt. 1129, 1648, 4443, 5431, etc.]. *woch*, -*e* 817, 928, etc. (21; none after v. 4609); ~ *wuch*, -*e* 303, 771, etc. (22) [~ (3)*wich*, -*e* 326,

497, 1189]. *woder* 803, 815, etc. (5); ~ *wuder*, -ward 932, 2144, etc. (6); ~ *zuderward* 307 [no *wi*-forms recorded].

such, -e 252, 362, 379, etc. (numerous) [~ *swich*, -e 154, 566, 4285, etc. (21)]. *wuþ* prep. 3330 [~ regular *wiþ*]. *wuste* pt., *iwust* pp. (of *witen* »know», and »guard») 308, 597 (: *nuste*), 1185, 1297, etc. (numerous; incl. some rimes: *truste* v. 4172, etc., : *cusste* pt. 8971); ~ *wste* pt. 1905, 2025, 5213 [~ *wiste* pt. 3660].

wom(m)an, -on sg. 211, 628, etc. (31) [~ *wimman* 11053]; *wommen* pl. 2752 [~ *wimmen* 917, 978, etc. (13), *wymmen* 3946].

wule »while» 114, 347, etc. (numerous); ~ *wle* 1349 [~ (3) *wile* 5, 106, 110, etc. (15)].

Otherwise no influence of *w-* appears. *wu* »why» 4917, 6249, 7511 (~ *wy*, usual form, ~ *wi* 2756) represents the OE *y*-variant, which is probably not, however, due to the influence of *w-*; and *wyinne* v. »win» 4512 is probably simply miswritten (for *wi-* or *wy-*).

2. Generally no *w*-influence. Cf. however *wol* 3528, 211 5625 (before adj. & pp., see § 355). — For the OFr. loan-word *worri*, -rry etc. v. »war» (38 cases), *worre* s. (41), *worreours* s. (2) (~ *werri* etc. v. 43, 47, 51, 550, 884, *werre* s. 3568, *werr-eours* 2548), see § 357. For *vorswolwe* inf. 4192, 4204, see § 356.

3. *worm* s. 1006 f., 2811, 10045. *worten* s. pl. 6999. *wurche* inf. 4788 (: *chirche*), 9207 (: *chirche*; in the last case *wurche* is s u b s t. according to WRIGHT's Glossary) (cf. above B 4).

4. *word* etc. s. 741, 781, 783, etc. (numerous). — Cf. *wrozte*, *iwrozt* pt. & pp. 45, 1608, 2569 (: *brozte*), etc. (numerous).

Note.

212

(w) ^ui is often written (w)y-.

Original OE *w ũ* appears as *wu-* (rarely), and as *wo-* (~ *wou-*

/nd) : *wulston* n. pr. 7914, etc., *seowulf* n. pr. 5160 (rimed : -ulf) [cf. *ulf* n. pr. 3306, 3324; *bald*-, *baþ*-, *bern*-, *bot*-, *ken*-, *pand*-, *randulf* 660, etc. (numerous)]; ~ *wol*, *wolle* s., *wolf* s. [cf. *Wolston* n. pr. 7918, *ad*-, *edwolf* n. pr. 5185, etc.; *benolf* n. pr. 5168], *wonder* s., *wondri* etc. v., *wone* s. 4718 (: *sone* s.), etc., *wonie* etc. v. »live, dwell», -igge, -iinge s., *iwoned* adj. (pp.), *swonke* pl. pt. 974, (i)*wonne* pl. pt. & pp., (?) (i)*woxe* pl. pt. & pp. (cf. BULBR. QF 63 p. 101); *iwoneded* »wounded» 1141, 9427; ~ *wounde* s., *vor*-, *y-wounded* pp. 373 etc., 1287, etc. (numerous)].

Original OE *w* ð appears only as *wo*- : cf. C 4; further *wolde* pt. 166, 242, etc. (numerous; incl. rimes: *golde* s., *ssolde* pt. »should», *zolde* pt. opt. 11086 [cf. *molde* pt. 364, 369, etc., incl. rimes: *zolde* pt. 10463, : *ssolde* pt. 11503]; *isuore* pp. 5520, 6107 (: *biuore*), etc. (numerous).

213

V. The Usages of Winchester.

Edited by TOULMIN SMITH, *English Gilds* p. 347 ff. (: EETS., Orig. Ser. 40. London 1870) from the original Roll of the 14th century (: cf. op. cit. p. 363). The dialect belongs to the Western and Middle South (: MORSB. Gr. p. 10).

214

A. No cases.

B.

1. *wyȝte* s. »weight» 354/30, 355/1, etc. (7). [Cf. *nowt* 353/6, *nouȝt* 353/11, etc. (3), *nauȝt* 363/5].

3. *wodewexen* s. pl. 358/20.

twyȝes »twice» 357/23. — *y-wite*, -*y*- inf. »know» 356/7, 362/13 [~ (to) *wetynge* 349/4, 350/20, etc. (14)]. *wyȝe* inf. 350/2; ~ *wetye* inf. 357/21, *y-weted* pp. 360/4. The *we*-forms

may have *-c* < OE *-eo-* (< *-i̥-*), or < *ī* (> *ē*) in open syllables (cf. C 1).

4. Here may be given (cf. § 9) *worþ* adj. 357/18; *stalworthe* adj. (pl.) 357/12; *worþy* s. 350/20, 357/19.

werk, *-e* s. 351/4, 352/1, 4 ~ (-)*work*, *-e* s. 351/1, 352/2, 355/7; further probably (: with the vowel of the *s u b s t .*, cf. § 359) *werche* inf. 350/18 ~ *werkeþ* 3 sg. pres. ind. 350/21.

2. 5. 6. No cases.

C.

215

1. No *w*-influence appears. The usual form is *wi-*, *wy-*; cf. e. g. *witnesse*; *whyle*; *swych* 354/16, 360/11, 363/7. — *we-* in *weche* sg. & pl. 349/7, 13, 359/20, 22, 362/12 (~ *wych(e)*), *-i-*, 349/8, 356/7, 15, 363/3), and *wele* 3 sg. pres. (opt.?) 360/13, 29, 31, 32, may derive from OE *(-)we-* (cf. above e. g. § 119) or have *ē* < *ī* in open syllables (cf. above B 3).

2. No *w*-influence.

3. *worche*, *-eþ* pres. opt., pl. pres. ind. 350/22, 26 (cf. B 4).

4. *wordes* s. pl. 350/17.

Note.

216

(w)*ī̥* is very often written (*w*)*y-*.

Original OE *w ǫ* and original OE *w ū* both appear as *wo-* (*wu-* does not occur). Cf. for OE *w ǫ*: above C 4, further *y-swore* pp. 349/6, 10, etc.; for OE *w ū*: *wolle* s., *-mongere* s. 353/1, 355/27, 356/10, *wonyeth* 358/22, *wonyzyng* s. 362/32.

g. Kentish texts.

217

I. Vices and Virtues.

Edited by F. HOLTHAUSEN: EETS., Orig. Ser. 89 (London 1888. Part I. Text and Translation), from the unique MS. Stowe 240 (No. 34 in the present catalogue of A. D. 1895) in the British Museum. According to MORSBACH Gr. p. 10, the work was written »um 1200»; the age of the MS. is given in the MS. catalogue (p. 21) as »early XIIIth century». As to the dialect of the MS., W. HEUSER, Anglia 17, 88, regarded it as Midland; but MORSBACH Gr. l. c. holds it to be written in »südöstlich sächsischer, dem kentischen benachbarter Dialekt». MORSBACH's opinion is supported by G. SCHMIDT: Über die Sprache und Heimat der »Vices and Virtues», Diss. Leipzig 1899.

Apart from a few lines on p. 74 of the MS. — HOLTHAUSEN's ed. p. 119, ll 19 - 25 — and some corrections by later hands, the MS. is the work of two scribes: the one (A) wrote (HOLTHAUSEN's ed.) pp. 1-119/6, the other (C) the rest of the piece, pp. 119/6-151. The two scribes do not differ much, either in dialect (cf. SCHMIDT p. 10, foot-note) or in orthography. It may however be pointed out here that the latter scribe (C) often writes *w-* for OE *hw-* (A has *hw-* ~ *wh-*), and in one case (?) *wo-* (: A always *wu-*) for original OE *w ũ* (cf. § 222); further sometimes *wo-* (: A only *wu-*) in *wurð-* etc. (see B 4), and with the exception of one *worēld*, always *world* etc.; and always (against one *weorke* sg.) *workes* s. pl. (probably = *w ö r -*; for *weor-* or *woer-*, or — perhaps by carelessness — for *w ö r -*, cf. *worke*s 3/14).

A.

nelt 2 sg. 73/5; *nele* 3 sg. 61/8; *nelleð* pl. 19/21, 25.

B.

1. No cases. [Cf. *ouht* pron. 53/18, ~ *aut* 61/13, *auht* 133/12, *awht* 145/6; *noht* 9/16, etc.; 135/27 etc.; *nohutt* 7/11 («von fremder Hand», SCHMIDT p. 24); ~ *naht* 13/2, etc., 127/6 etc., *nauht* 17/10 etc., 121/24 etc.; *nawht* 133/31].

2. *werste* sup. 77/15; *wers*, -e comp. 57/20, 73/24 ~ *wurse* 57/23, 65/24. — For *-wurð*, -e adj. etc., see below B 4.

3. *suster* 3/22, 29/31, 131/8 ~ *swuster* 63/29. *wute we* »let us« 23/22, = *hute we* 151/15 (cf. *witen* etc. below).

swikele adj. 3/22, 15/19, etc. (8). — *witen* inf. & pl. pres. ind. 23/9, 53/29, etc. (8) ~ *witten* inf. 113/2 [*witende*, -inde pres. p. 51/26, 53/5; *wite*, -en pres. opt. 25/1, 27/32, etc.].

4. (*for*)*wurð*, -e, -eð pl. & 1 sg. pres. ind.; pres. opt. 33/12, 219 83/3, 133/28; further (if not to B2, cf. §§ 9, 276) *wurð* 3 sg. pres. ind. 5/25, 19/21, . . . ; 123/13 (5) ~ *worð* 151/5 (cf. § 217). — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) (-)*wurð*, -e s. & adj., etc. : *un-wurð* s. & adj. 5/32, 29/34, . . . 117/27 (6); *unwurþere* comp. 109/23; (*un*)*wurðliche* adv. 21/11, 53/8; 133/30; (*der*-, *dere*)-*wurðe* adj. 15/12, 21/11, . . . ; 129/13 (10; incl. MS. *wurde* 71/23); *derewurðeste* sup. 51/28; *wurðin*, -izen inf. 65/24, 85/2; (*un*-, *ʒe*)*wurðed*, -e pt. & pp. 25/12, 55/7, . . . ; 135/7 (5); (*un*)*wur(ð)scipe*, -es s. 53/8, 55/8, . . . ; 135/21 (8; incl. -rd- 85/6); ~ *unworðere* comp. 133/29, *worðliche* adv. 133/24, *derworðe* adj. 135/22 (cf. § 217).

(*for*)*wurpen* inf. 83/13; ~ *worpen* inf. 135/3 (cf. § 217); ~ (*for*)*werþ*, -en, -eð, -est sg. pres. opt., inf., pl. & 2 sg. pres. ind. 17/27, . . . 83/15 (5).

werke, -es s. 7/5, 29/23, . . . 117/27 (15); *handiwer* s. 13/7, 115/5; ~ (*hande*)*weorc*, *weork*, -e, -es s. 3/18, 25, 11/24, . . . ; 123/9 (10); ~ *woerkes* s. pl. 9/2, 17/22; *worþes* s. pl. 3/14; ~ *workes* s. pl. 123/31, 133/10, 141/7, 143/8, 26 (cf. § 217).

sweord s. 91/3.

220 5. *woreld*, -e, -es, -mann, -þing 3/13, 17/19, . . . ; 151/21 (50); *world*, -e, -es, -menn, etc. 5/33, 7/4, . . . ; 123/13, etc. (21); *wordles* 33/15, 79/33, 81/3; ~ *werdles* (miswritten for *wor*?) 31/19.

wele s. 29/1, 31/19, . . . 81/4 (6). *dwel*, -e s. (dat. sg.) »error» 29/9, 39/28 (cf. *zedwoll* s., see § 222); *dwelmenn* s. pl. 27/18 (*zedweld* pp. »deceived» 15/18 belongs to OE *gedwellan*).

6. *wernde* pt. 147/14 ~ *wærnen* inf. 61/6. *werzi*, -ien, *werizen* inf. 9/8, 13/6, 9; *werzied* pl. pres. ind. 13/7; *werzing-e*, -es s. 19/25, 28, 41/28; *wer3(h)inde* s., pres. p. 13/3, 3, 19/26; (a-, i-, 3e)*wer(e)3(h)ed*, -e pt. & pp. 3/12, 28, . . . 117/25, 26, 32 (18) [~ *warizing* s. 19/27, cf. § 331].

221 C.

1. Generally *wi*-. Cf. e. g. *wil(l)e, wilt, willen*, -e ðsg. & pl. pres. 5/5, 12, 9/33, etc. (~ *wy*-, cf. below); *w-*, *wh-*, *hwilc(h)*, -e, -es 27/22, 29/6, . . . ; 125/11, *hwilliche* 149/13 [~ *hwælche* 21/31, < OKent. -*we*-, -*wæ*-]; *swilch*, -e 3/28, 5/28, . . . ; 127/22, etc.; *swiche* 27/19 (~ *swu*-, see below); *hwider* adv. 17/29; *wifmanne* sg. 127/12; (-)*hwile* 19/19, 26, etc.; *swiðe* 5/18, 19, etc.; *whi*, *hwi* 13/22, 75/25, etc. — Once only appears *wy*-. *wyle* pl. pres. ind. 107/25 (»over erasure»); probably = *wī*.

A *w*-influence appears only in the form *swulch* 75/7, 77/31 (~ *swi*-, see above).

2. There are no certain cases of an influence of *w-*, except perhaps for *wol* adv. 125/10 (~ *wiel* 123/9 ~ usual *wel*, -*ll*, -*lle*), which SCHMIDT p. 19 regards as »verschrieben»; see below § 355. — For *forswolezen* inf. 139/18, 19 (~ *foriswelzen* inf. 45/26; cf. *swelð* pres. ind. »swells» trans. 65/18, 19), whose -o- SCHMIDT p. 47 considers as due to the influence of *w-*, see § 355.

3. *wermes* s. pl. 15/24, 63/33; ~ *weormes* 139/8 (regarded by SCHMIDT pp. 9, 47 as an OWS form copied by the scribe). *wercheð*, -eþ, -en, -inde pl. pres. ind., inf., pres. p. 27/13,

29/28, . . . ; 131/24 (7); *wercst* 2 sg. pres. ind. 65/8; ~ *wur-
chende* 3/10. — Cf. *wrihte* s. 27/26, 91/15, 25, 95/9. [Cf. *winne* s. »joy» 145/3].

4. (sot)word, -e, -es s. 11/12, 23, 13/1, etc. (44). *ut-3e-,
ut-i-, forworpen* pp. 13/31, 73/14, 19. — Cf. *fullwroht* pp.
39/24.

forwurden pp. 83/10 probably has the vowel of the pt. pl.;
cf. § 379.

Note (cf. also above § 217).

222

wy- occurs only once, in *wyle* (cf. C 1); it probably stands
for *wī*.

Original OE *w ũ* appears as *wo-* in *beswonken* pp. 151/8
(cf. *inomen* pp. 151/8, *zenomene* pp. 73/33; according to
SCHMIDT p. 25 »vielleicht Analogiebildungen nach ppt. von
kl. III, 2, 3 (?)»); otherwise only as *wu-* : *wulder* s. 5/20;
wunde s. 119/20, (*3e-, i*)*wunded*, -ede, -ieð pp., pl. pres.
ind. 63/15, 15, 17, 71/2; *bewunden* pp. 49/28; *wunder*, -dren
etc. s. & v. 15/31, 95/15, 117/18; (*i*)*swunken* pt. pl. & pp.
91/32, 99/4; 151/18; *wuni(3)en* etc. v. 13/6 etc.; 129/7 etc.;
wunienge, -i3enge s. 37/4, 41/31, etc.; (*3e-, i*)*wune* s. »habit»
59/31, 79/17, 113/27, *wuneliche* adv. 121/21, *bewune(n)* adj.
(or *be* prep. + s. ?) 139/6, 7, 9; *wurde* pt. opt. 5/4, 131/10;
and probably *forwurden* pp., cf. C 4.

Original OE *w ǒ* appears only as *wo-* : cf. above C 4; fur-
ther *zedwoll* s. »error» 27/27 (cf. § 205), *wolkne* s. 103/24,
wolde etc. pt. 5/1, 9/17, etc.; 129/30 etc. (~ *walde* 143/13,
see § 311); cf. also *nolde* etc. pt. 5/16, 11/32, etc.; 125/3,
etc.; *a-solkenesse* s. (OE -s w ǒ -) 3/21, 23.

OE *ë o* (but not OE *ë e*) is in a few cases rendered by *-eo-*;
cf. above B 4, and further SCHMIDT §§ 24, 33.

223 II. Poema Morale, MS. D (Digby A. 4, Bodl. Library).

Edited by ZUPITZA, Anglia 1,5 ff. — The dialect of the MS. is Kentish, and the MS. belongs to the beginning of the 13th century (: MORSBACH Gr. p. 10). — Cf. further above § 150, and the references given there.

224 A.

nelle 1 sg. 139; *nele* 3 sg. 58, 153, 176. — *nesten* pl. pt. 110 (: *hlestēn* inf., OE -y-); ~ *nisten* 47; *niteð*, -en pl. pres ind. 115, 140.

B.

1. *wihte* s. (OE *wiht*) 38 (: *drihte*), 136 (: *isihðe*) [cf. *naht* pron. 22, 63, etc. (8) ~ *noht* 81, 139, 181]. *wihte* s. (OE *gewiht*) 103 (: *mihhte* s.).

2. *wers*, -e comp. 106, 107, 143, 186.

3. *suster* 71, 90. *ute* (*we*), *uten* »let us» 161, 188.

wode s. 166.

quike adj. pl. 38, 92. *swikele* adj. pl. 48, 123.

4. *wurðe* pl. pres. ind. 160; further (if not to B 2, cf. §§ 9, 276) *wurð* sg. pres. ind. 67 (MS. -rh; cf. ZUPITZA l. c. p. 19, note 2).

worc, -rke(s) s. 6, 30, 34, 52, 54, 60; ~ *werc*, -rkes s. 30, 50, 76, 86, 119, 124.

swiere s. »neck» 69 (: *diere* s. »deer»).

5. *world*, -es s. 129, 160, 174; ~ *werlde*, -es 74, 108, 153, 161; *werldliche* adj. 74.

wele s. 74, 108, etc. (6).

6. No cases.

225 C.

1. No w-influence. The only form is *wi-*: cf. e. g. *wil(l)e*, *willeð* pres. sg. & pl.; *hwich(e)*; *swich*, -(n)e; (i)wiste(n) pt. sg. & pl.; (h)wile s.; *swiþe* adv.; *hwi* adv.

2. No w-influence appears.

3. No cases. [Cf. *unwenne* s. 101 (: *senne* s. »sin«)].

4. *word*, -e s. 2, 5, 6 & 127 (both : *horde* s. »hoard«), 149 (: *borde* s. »board«). — Cf. *wrohte(n)* pt. 40, 86.

Note.

226

wy- does not occur.

Original OE *w ũ* appears as *w(u)-* ~ *wo-*: *swunke* pl. pt. 124 (: *drunke* s. »drink«), *swengke* 154; *wunie* inf. 73 (: *bisunie*), 177; ~ *wonder* s., -*liceste* sup. 32, 88, *wonien* inf. 87, -*iinge* s. 171, *woned* sg. pres. ind. 65, *iwoned* adj. (pp.) 27. [For other cases of -o- for OE *ũ*, see LEWIN PM p. 16].

Original OE *w ǒ* appears only as *wo-*: cf. C 4; further *vorsworene* pp. 48, *wolde* etc. pt. 8, 17 (: *unholde* adj.), etc. (cf. also *nolde* etc. pt. 66, 90, etc.).

III. The »Old Kentish Sermons«.

227

Published in MORRIS' Old Engl. Miscellany (EETS., Orig. Ser. 49, London 1872) p. 26 ff., from MS. Laud. 471 (Bodl. Library), which belongs to the first half of the 13th century (MORSB. Gr. p. 10). The dialect is Kentish (: MORSB. Gr. l. c.).

A.

228

nel 3 sg. pres. ind. 28/10. — *niste* pt. 29/30.

B.

1. No cases. — [Cf. *nocht* 27/5, 29/30, etc. (16) ~ *nacht* 28/23, etc. (3)].

4. *werkes* s. pl. 28/4, 11, 26, etc. (9); *werkmen* s. pl. 33/20, 24, etc. (11).

5. *wordle*, -es 33/7, 34/27, 35/1, 20; *wordl* 34/18; *world* 34/16, 29, 35/19, 25.

2, 3, 6. No cases.

229 C.

1. No w-influence appears: cf. e. g. the forms *wil(l)e*, *wilt*, *willeth* pres. sg. & pl.; *wiche* pron. ~ *wyche*; *s(w)iche*; *wiste* pt.; *wyman* sg.; *hwilem* adv. ~ *(h)wylem*. — *wee* »why» 33/25 no doubt goes back to OE $\bar{y}$, which vowel however is probably not due to the influence of w-.

2. No w-influencee appears.

3. *worm* s. 28/10, 17.

4. No cases.

230 Note.

w $\bar{i}$ is sometimes written *wy*-.

Original OE w $\bar{u}$ and original OE w $\bar{o}$ both appear as *wo*- (the cases are however very few): *awondrede* 32/24; *wolde(n)* pt. 26/10, etc.

231 IV. Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwit.

Edited by R. MORRIS (EETS, Orig. Ser. 23. London 1886) from the autograph MS. (Arundel 57) in the British Museum. The author (translator) states himself (MS. fol. 82 a) that his work »is y-write mid engliss of kent», that he finished the MS. »Ine þe yeare of oure lhordes beringe 1340.», and that he was a »broþer of þe cloystre of sanynt austin of Canterberi». In his preface he gives his name and that of his work, and further declares that he has written »þis boc. . . of his oþene hand».

Cf. further OTTO DANKER: Die Laut- und Flexionslehre der mittelkentischen Denkmäler, Diss. Strassburg 1879; M. KONRATH: Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Mittelkentischen (Archiv 88 & 89); W. HEUSER, Anglia 17, 73 ff.; EILERS p. 156.

A.

nyteþ pl. pres. 72. — *nelle* 1 sg. pres. ind. 56, 218, 260, 262; *nele* 3 sg. 8, 31, 33, etc. (22), pl. 65; ~ *nolle* *he* (sg.) 79, 139, 247, *nolle* *we*, *hi*, *him* (pl.) 120, 164, 209, *nolleþ* pl. pres. 35, 38, 38, 39, etc. (numerous).

B.

1. *wyȝte*, *-es* s. (OE *gewiht*) 44 (5 cases), 54, etc. — [Cf. *naȝt* pron. & adv. 6 (2 cases), etc. (numerous); *naȝti* v. 9].

2. *wors*, *-e* comp. 17, 20, 22, etc. (21); *alþerworst* sup. 17; *worsi* inf. 33. — For *worst*, *worþ* 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind., *worþ*, *-i*, etc. s. & adj., see B 4.

3. *wode*, *-es* 23, 95, 96, 213. *wodewe* (*-en*, *-on*), *-hod* 48 (2 cases), 185, 190, etc. (18). *zoster*, *zostren* 89, 94, 118, 206, 265, 269. — *woke* s. 7, 110, 212.

ku-, *quic*, *-ik*, *quyk* adj. (sg.) 67, 73, etc. (6); *qui(k)ke*, *-cke* (pl.) 98, 134, 263; *aquyked* pp. 203. *tuiēs*, *tuyes* »twice» 35, 36 (2 cases), etc. [*tuyegges* s. pl. »twigs» 17 is no doubt miswritten for the usual *tuygges* 41, 43, etc.]. — (y)wyte inf., *-eþ* pl. imp. & pres. ind. 10, 25, 26, etc., (to) *wytene* inf. 1, 13, etc. [*-inde(-)* 6, 6, etc.]. *wytye*, *-yeþ* (OE *witian*) inf., pl. pres. ind. 78, 122, 229.

4. *zuord*, *-e* 43 (2 cases), 48, 148, etc. (7). *yworþe* etc. 233 inf., pres. opt. 40, 262. — *worke*, *-es* s. 7 (5 cases), 14, 17, etc. (70); *workman*, *-men*, *-uol* 86, 113, etc. (5). — Here also belong the analogical *workeþ* sg. & pl. pres. ind. 19, 88, *-inde* pres. p. 206, *worke* inf. (or subst. ?) 31 (. . . *he hine dep to worke . . .*), 265 (*Do we to worke godes nebsseft . . .*), with the vowel of the subst. (cf. *werche* etc. C 3); perhaps also (if not to B 2, cf. §§ 9, 276) *worst*, *worþ* 2 & 3 pres. ind. 270; 74, 90 (2 cases), 189; further (or to B 2, cf. § 9) *worþ* s. 76, 80, 82, etc. (9), *worþ* adj. 7, 16, 20, etc. (88), *-e* adj. (pl.) 74, *-folle* adj. (pl.) 16, *-i*, *-y* adj. 76, 94, etc. (14); *paneworþes* s. pl. 23, 37, 90; *onworþ* s. 35, 270, *onworþ* adj. 49, 132, etc. (5), *-i* adj. 259, *-lych* adj. 132, *-hede* s. 17, 20, etc. (4), *-nese* s.

s. 9, 19, etc. (10, incl. *-worn-* 20, 196), *-i* inf., *-eþ* pres. ind. etc. 8, 20, 22, etc. (38); *worþssipe* s., *-ipuoł*, *-iplich(e)*, *-iphede* 8, 18, 20, etc. (54), *wor(þ)ssipie* etc. inf. etc., *yworþssiped* pp. 5, 6 (2 cases), 8, etc. (35).

zuere s. »neck» 155, 156. — *querne* s. 181 (cf. § 310).

5. *wordle*, *-es* 7, 12, 13, 14, etc. (232; incl. *worle* 86, 164, 241; *worddle* 165), *wordleliche* adj. (pl.) 164, 210, 210.

huezel s. »wheel» 24 (2 cases), 27, 76, 181.

6. *wernde* pt. 189. — For *awarþede* pp. 27, cf. § 331 [: note that *-ar-* < *ě r* is very rare in Ay., cf. KONRATH, Archiv 88, 158.)

234 C.

1. Usually *wy-* ~ *wi-* (: most words of frequent occurrence appear in both forms); cf. e. g. *wylle* etc. pres. sg. & pl. ~ *wi-* (passim); *zuych*, *-e* 8, 10, 14, 19, etc. ~ *zui-* 5, 7, 8, 9, 19, etc.; *huych* etc. 1 (2 cases), 38, 45, etc. ~ *hui-* 6, 7 (2 cases), 15, 39, etc.; *wyþman*, *-manne* sg., *-men* pl. 10 (2 cases), 11, 30, etc. ~ *wymman* sg. 48, 190, *wy(m)men* pl. 231, 262.

we- appears exceptionally in *westen* pl. pt. 72 (: usually *wy-*, *wi-*), where it might represent OKent. *we-* < *w y-* < *w i-* unless the form stands for *wessten* »wished» (OE *-y-* < *u* + *i*-umlaut). — *zueche* »such» 83, 156, 171 (: usually *zuy-*, *zui-*, cf. above) probably derives from OE *swelc* (cf. § 417); hardly from the usual ME Kent. *ī*-form, as there are no certain cases of a change *ī* > *e* in Ay. (forms like *nemeþ* v., *leve* v. »live», probably have *-e-* < *i o*, *e o* due to *u/o*-umlaut; cf. KONRATH, Archiv 88, 161 f.).

235 2. No *w*-influence; cf. e. g. *wel* adv. 1, 11 etc.; *tuelf* 11, etc.; *kuelþ* (MS. *-l3*) 3 sg. pres. ind. 248; *zuel3* s. 50, 50, etc., *-ynge* s. 91, (*uor*)*zuel3e* inf., *-l3þ* pres. 15, 17, 52, etc. (12) (~ *uorzuyłþ* 3 sg. pres. ind. 61).

3. *werm*, *-es*, *-ene* s. 137, 215 (2 cases), 216 (2 cases), etc. (12), *-ethe* pp. 229. *werche* inf. 174 (2 cases), *-eþ* 3 pl. pres. ind. 168. — [Cf. *wesseþ* pl. pres. »wish» 56].

4. *word*, -e, -es s. 7, 10, 27, etc. (104; incl. -dd- 57, v- 101).

Note.

236

w [̃]i is very often written *wy*-.
 Original OE w [̃] appears as *wo*-, / nd also as *wou*- (*wu*- does not occur): *wolle* s. 137; *wolf*, -lues s. 39, 50, etc.; *zuol* 3 s. (OE s(w)ulh) 242 (4 cases), 243; *worzuol* 3e pl. pt. 206; *wonder* etc. s. 14, 15, etc., -dreþ, -drinde v. 244, 267; *wone*, -es s. »habit» 6, 22, etc., -eþ sg. pres. 7, 32, etc., -ie, -ye inf. 220 (2 cases), *ywoned* pp. (adj.) 90, etc.; *wonye*, -ie, etc. v. »to live» 49, 54, 64 etc., *wonyinge*, -iy- s. 149, etc.; *ywonne* pp. 71, 79, etc.; *ywounded* pp. »wounded» 148 (2 cases), *wonde*, -en s. 148, 174 (2 cases), 217; ~ *wounden* s. pl. 266. [Cf. (y)uounde pp. 83, 92, etc., ybounde pp. 22, 86, etc., grounde s. 23, etc., (-)hound, -e, -es s. 70, 155, etc., ysounde adj. 205 (and the Fr. *rounde* adj.; 234, 234, boundes s. pl. 206); ~ yuonde pp. 186, (-)hond, -es s. 55, 75, etc. (8), grond s. 1 (rimed: pond s. »pound», rond »round», domb »dumb»), pond s. 1 (rimed: grond s. etc.) (and the Fr. *rond* »round» rimed: grond etc.); ~ agrund »on the ground» 91].

Original OE w [̃] appears only as *wo*: cf. C 4; further *wolde*, -en pt. 13, 16, 16, 22, etc. (cf. *nolde*, -en, -est 64, 64, 116, etc.); *worzuol* 3e pp. 111; *worzuorene* pp. 19.

V. The Poems of William of Shoreham.

237

Edited by M. KONRATH (The Poems of William of Shoreham. Part I. EETS., Extra Series 86. London 1902) from the unique MS. No. 17376, Additional MSS., British Museum. The MS. certainly belongs to the 14th century; authorities disagree as to a more exact date. The author »was a Kent-

ishman, no doubt a native of Shoreham near Otford» (KONRATH op. cit. p. XIV), and about A. D. 1320 vicar of the rectory of Chart-Sutton in Kent. His work is very incorrectly rendered by the MS., which according to KONRATH (op. cit. p. XI) »is not an autograph of the poet, but a very careless copy made by an ignorant scribe whose dialect was different from that of the author, and who — be it freely substituting the forms of his own speech for the original ones — seems to have only imperfectly understood what he was copying. . .».

- 238 As to the differences of the MS. — apart from evident blunders of the scribe — from the author's dialect as shown by the rimes, it seems to me that, at least as regards the *w* words here in question, they may quite well be due to individual, perhaps also chronological, variations within the very dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of the author's native place. It should be kept in mind — as KONRATH points out op. cit. p. VII — that the West Kentish dialect very probably differed in many particulars from the East Kentish dialect of the »Ayenbite», and that the dialect of Shoreham (& neighbourhood) may besides »have been to some extent influenced by the speech of the neighbouring capital» — where, in the first half of the 14th century, the original Southern (< Saxon) dialect had not yet been totally superseded by the encroaching (East) Midland (< Mercian) dialect. This influence of London may of course have worked more or less strongly on different individuals. And it is quite natural, in the present case, that we should find more traces of it in the MS. than in the language of the author, who no doubt belonged to an earlier generation than the scribe who copied his work. This circumstance may well explain, for instance, occasional cases (they are not numerous) in the MS. of -o-, -u-, -y- (= -i-) for OE $\ddot{y}$ — *moche*, -el, -ele; *muneche* »nun», *prude* s., *murye* adj., *fulke*; *fylpe* s., *synnes* s. pl., *lyst* imp., *tryste* v., and perhaps also the isolated *chyrche* I 86 (~ numerous *cherche*) — which in a y

all have been introduced by the scribe for original *-e*-forms (cf. however the rime *senne* s.: *ynne* adv. (i. e. OE $\ddot{y}$: OE $\ddot{i}$) VII 588).

In the following quotations I have disregarded the *f l o u* 139 *r i s h* (probably standing for an *-e*) attached to several letters in the MS., which peculiarity KONRATH has carefully reproduced in his edition.

For earlier editions of the poems (complete or in part), textual criticisms, etc., see KONRATH op. cit. p. XVII. Cf. further EILERS p. 170, and KONRATH: Zur Laut- und Flexionslehre des Mittelkentischen, Archiv 88 & 89.

A.

240

nele, nelt sg. pres. ind. I 55, 364, III 183, V 340, VII 131, 327 (: *skele* s.; with $\ddot{e}$, cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 126).

neste pt. II 104, III 140 (: *beste* sup., *reste* s., *enqueste* s.), V 82 (: *by-hest* s). Besides *neste*: *em-* (MS. *eny-*) *cryste* s. pl. VII 455, *neste*: *wyste* (pt. (?); the passage is corrupted) VII 792. As rimes 1 : $\ddot{e}$ do not seem to occur in Sho., these last two rimes evidently point to a variant *nyste* (with $\ddot{i}$) in the author's language, which variant would be due to the analogy of *wyste*. Cf. however for the rime VII 792 — as far as it is to be trusted — the form *weste* pt., below, C 1.

B.

241

1. *by-t(h)uixte* I 310 (: *icristned*; according to KONRATH the rime »is evidently a blunder of the scribe», 2130; *by-tuixe*, *-yce* I 1574, VII 722. — Here probably belongs *by-tuext*, *-e*, ~ *-we-* II 27, IV 16, VII 419 (with *-e* < *eo*, < OE *betwēoh* < *-ī-*; cf. BULBR. El. § 520), as the MS. does not write (*w*)*e* for early ME (*w*)*i*: the forms *leue*, *-eþ* inf., 3 sg. pres. ind. (~ *-i-*) I 13, 27 f., 439 (: *ziue* v.; cf. the regular Southern *e*-variant, e. g. I 550: *zeuene*: *heuene*), VII 506 (: *zyve* v.), *lemes* s. pl. (~ *-y-*) e. g. I 659, 2211, *neme* inf., pl. pres. ind. I 2239, IV 77, *seþþe* adv. III 53 etc., may all derive from

OKent. eo (io) due to u/o-umlaut (as also *wete* etc. v., see B 3); the isolated *nes* IV 95 is simply miswritten, if it is really meant for *nīs* < *ne*+*is* and not for *nes* < *ne*+*wes* (»was«); for *medewyues* s. pl. I 296, see NED; for the doubtful *wel* s., *weste* pt., and for *swech* etc., *weche*, see C 1. — [Cf. *a(u)3t* pron. I 570 etc., *nau(3)t*, *nou(3)t(e)* pron. & adv. (passim)].

- 242 2. *wors*, -*e* comp. I 739 (: *corse* s., < OE *ŭ*), 741, 743, 2022, II 43, III 221, IV 142 (: *cors* s., < OE *ŭ*); *worst*, -*e* sup. I 553, III 303. — The form *worst* (: KONRATH corrects to *werst*) VII 420 (: *ferst*) does probably not belong here. In my opinion, we have to do with the scarce ME adj. *wrest* = OE *w r æ s t* »vigorous, strong». This suits the context far better than the sup. *werst*¹⁾, which besides appears only as *worst* (and the comp. as *wors*, -*e*) in Sho. (and Ay.). The original may have had the imperfect rime *wrest*: *ferst*, or more probably, with metathesis, *werst*: *ferst* or *wrest*: *frest* (cf. e. g. the forms *frist*, -*e* sup. recorded by STRATM.-BRADLEY).

werþe adj. I 551 (: *erþe* s.), 1239 (: *erþe* s.), 1489 (: *erthe* s.; MS. incorrectly *wrethe*); *werþer* comp. VII 565; ≈ *worþe*, -*rthe* I 1164, 1621, IV 211, V 6, VII 611 (all rimed: *erþe* s.); I 1246 (: *ferþe*; doubtless correct emendation in KONRATH's text); VII 617. — The *wor*-forms of this word have evidently in all the rimed cases — perhaps also in the remaining VII 617 — been introduced by the scribe for original *wer*-forms.

For *werþ* 3 sg. pres. ind. VII 339 (: *forthe* adv.), see B 4. — For *worþ*, -*e*(*þ*) 3 sg. pres. ind., *worþ* s. & adj., etc., see B 4.

¹⁾ Cf. vv. 415-420: *Tuo sheles beþ, þat me may wyte,*
þat none nere ymad parfyte
Ine heuene ferst,
Er þe bataylle yended was
By-twexte god and sathanas
þat now hys werst [MS. worst].

3. *wode* s. I 43. *soster* V 34, 350. — *wokke* sg. I 1293 (: *on-* 243 *lowke*; OE $\bar{u}$), *woken* pl. V 110 (: *by-louken* pl. pres. ind.; OE $\bar{u}$).

qui(c)ke adj. pl. I 297, 480, 655. — (y)w $\bar{y}$ te, -en, -ene ~ wi-, inf., pl. pres. ind. (»know»; »protect» III 16) I 8, 178, 1641, etc. (14; incl. the rimes: y-w $\bar{y}$ te pp. V 308, 319, : *parfyte* adj. VII 415); ~ wete, -en inf., 1 sg. pres. ind. I 215 (: *hete* [MS. miswritten *hente*] < OE *hæt a n*, OKent. $\bar{e}$), 631, VII 67, 256, 586. — The *we*-variant (proved to be original by the rime I 215) probably derives from OKent. eo (io) due to u/o-umlaut; cf. above B 1.

4. (y)w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$ e, -the inf., sg. pres. opt. I 1855, VII 329; further 244 if not to B 2 (cf. §§ 9, 276) w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$ e $\bar{p}$ 3 sg. pres. ind. I 335, w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$, -e 3 sg. pres. ind. II 5, 23, 240, VII 63 (: *for $\bar{p}$ e* adv.), 98, and, as far as the author is concerned, w $\bar{e}$ r $\bar{p}$ 3 sg. pres. ind. VII 339 (: *for $\bar{p}$ e* adv.) [the MS. form w $\bar{e}$ r $\bar{p}$ could of course be deduced from an OE *wiur* - > *wur* + i-umlaut, but it seems safest to consider it as a scribal error for w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$]. — Here may also be given (cf. § 9) w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$ s. III 167; (oun-)w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$ adj. I 1474, III 151, (?) VII 255¹) (: *for $\bar{p}$ e* adv.); w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$ y adj. VI 17, 257; w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$ yng s. (OE *weorðung*) III 182; w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$ schipe, -y $\bar{p}$ e, -y $\bar{p}$ ing s. & v. II 4, III 97, V 5, 17, 23. — For w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$ e, -ri $\bar{h}$ e adj., see above B 2.

w $\bar{e}$ r $\bar{k}$, -e, -es s. I 1464, 1468 (: *clerk*s), III 214, VII 249 (: *derk* adj.); ~ w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{k}$, -e, -es I 1463 (: *clerke*), 1949, III 135, VII 195 (: *clerke*), 250; here belong also the verbal forms w $\bar{e}$ r $\bar{k}$ y inf. III 213, w $\bar{e}$ r $\bar{k}$ est 2 sg. pres. ind. III 213; w $\bar{e}$ r $\bar{k}$ yng s. (< pres. p.) III 222 (cf. below C 3).

s $\bar{w}$ e $\bar{r}$ de s. II 123.

5. w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{d}$ le I 349, 356, etc. (12); w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{d}$ le VII 227, 229, 269; 245

¹) the MS. has *Hyt nau $\bar{z}$ t w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$* , where the metre seems to require another syllable. KONRATH's text has *Hyt [hys] (= is) nau $\bar{z}$ t w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$* (= adj.); but the original may quite as well have had *Hyt to nau $\bar{z}$ t w $\bar{o}$ r $\bar{p}$* (3 sg. pres. ind.).

world, -e I 517, VII 241, etc. (7). These cases include the very remarkable rime *wordle*: *þor3-þerled* IV 196; KONRATH suggests an original reading *werdle*: *þor3-þerle* (OE -þȳ-re l adj.); cf. below § 412, foot-note..

whe-welen s. pl. »wheels» IV 223. *wele* s. (OE *wela* etc.) VII 402 (: *fele* adj.), 483 (: *skele* s., cf. above A), 569 (: *skele* s.).

6. No certain cases. — For *warn(e)þ* 3 sg. pres. ind. I 2005, 2015, cf. below § 331 [: note that -ar < ǣr is very rare in this MS., if it occurs at all outside words like *sarmoun* etc. (with OFr. -er- ~ -ar-)].

246

C.

1. *wole*, -lle, -lt sg. pres. ind. & opt. I 70, 515, 1101, etc. (18), *wolleþ* pl. pres. ind. I 977 [~ *wile*, -lle, -lt, ~ *wy*-, sg. I 197, 245, 568, etc., *wylleþ* pl. III 110]. *woder* »whither» I 9 [~ *wider* e. g. I 4].

soche VII 13, 125, etc. (5), *souche* IV 327; ~ *such*, -e, -er (I 890) I 141, 324, etc. (19) [~ *swich(e)*, *swych(e)*, ~ *suy*-, I 216, 646, 734, 745, etc. (14); ~ *s(w)e*-, see below].

weste pt. VII 778 [~ *wyste*, -est pt. I 2164, etc. (9; incl. the rimes: *lyste* (OE ȳ) VII 772, : *neste* pt. (cf. above A) VII 789); (y-)wyst pp. IV 408, VII 799], if it is not a scribal error (: KÖLBING proposes *wete* pres.), may belong here (: *w e* - < *w y* - < *w i* -), or it may have -e- from *neste* pt.

wel s. VII 516 for the usual *wyl(le)*, *wil(le)* is certainly a blunder of the scribe. — *weche* pron. I 1364 [~ *wichen* I 102], and *s(w)ech*, -e, -en I 1945, 1988, 1990, III 263, etc. (8) [~ -o-, -ou-, -u-, -i-, -y-, see above] probably spring from OE *hwelc*, *swelc*; cf. § 417.

Note: *wymman* sg., *wymmen* pl. (only forms) I 528, 589, 1194, etc. (13).

247

2. No w-influence appears. — *wulle* s. »well» V 55 [~ *wille* V 61 ~ *welle* V 54 (: *godspelle* s.), 342 (: *fol- uelle*, OE ȳ)]

does not belong here; it represents an OE (OWS) *wylle* (< *w i e l l e*).

3. *worm*, -es VII 296, 715 (: *storm* s.). The form with *wor-* is no doubt original, as proved by the rime (probably a rime $\ddot{u}$: $\ddot{o}$).

werche, -eþ inf., sg. & pl. pres. ind. & opt. I 611, 637, 774, 1020(MS. *wreche*), 1255, 1535, 1563, 1579; III 147 (all except I 637 rimed: *cherche* s.); ~ *worche* inf. I 2041, 2137 (both rimed: *cherche*.) — The *wor*-forms have evidently been introduced by the scribe).

4. *word*, -e, -es s. I 246, 253, 273, etc. (24; incl. the rimes: *accord* s. VII 162, : *lorde* s. VII 654). — Cf. *wroute* pt. IV 271, VII 384 (both rimed: *þo(u)zte* pt.); (*i*-)*wro(u)zt* pp. IV 90 (: -*souzt*), VII 178 & 241 (both: *no(u)zt*).

Note.

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$w\ddot{i}$ often appears as *wy*-.

Original OE $w\ddot{u}$ appears as *wo*-, before *nd* also as *wou*- (: -*ou*- in this MS. generally denotes a long vowel): *wolleward*, *wone* s. (OE *wuna*), *iwoned* adj. (pp.) »wont», *wonye* inf. »dwell», *wonezyng*, -*yyng* s., *y-wonne* pp.; and possibly (by analogy, cf. BÜLBR. QF 64, p. 101) *woxe* pt. pl., pp. VII 8, 413, 687; further *wonde* etc. s. & v. I 84 (: *on-sounde* adj.) etc. (4), *wonder*, -*dre* s., -*drede* pt. I 2147 (: *onder* adv.), II 74 (: *ondre* s.), etc. (5); ~ *wounde* etc. I 2219, etc. (5; incl. 3 rimes: *bounde*, *y-founde* pp.), *wounder* s. VII 757 (: *onder* adv.) [cf. *bounde* pp., *y-founde* pp., *on-sounde* adj., *ground*(-) s. (7); *ounder*- I 2108; ~ *þond* s. IV 143, *bonden* pl. pt. ind. II 56; *onder* (passim); ~ *vnder* I 131, etc.]. — *wu*- appears only in *wulle* s. (cf. above C 2), cf. also *such* etc. (above C 1); - *u* - in these words is probably = $\ddot{u}$, as (stressed) - *u* - (*v* -) = $\ddot{u}$ is very rare in Teut. words [: only occasionally in *vnder* (cf. above), and in *schulle* »shall» pl. pres.

ind. I 1294, *furþ* adv. I 1207 (in a later hand), (*vndo* IV 118), *vþþe* adv. V 325].

Original OE $w\ddot{o}$ appears only as *wo-* : cf. C 4; further *wolde*, *-est* pt. I 232, 860, etc. (numerous; incl. rimes: *bolde* adj., *scholde* pt., *molde* s.), *wolkne* s. VII 68, 290.

CHAPTER II.

Discussion of the ME forms.

249

A. Prim. OE *ne* + *w ĭ* > *n ħ*.

**niten* (= *ne* + *witen*) (pres. ind. & opt.; pt.).

ni-, ny- b) O, Man. (& r.: *Hengist*) — c) Ch. — g) PM(D) (~ *ne-*), KS, Ay.

ne- g) PM(D) (& r.: *hlestēn* inf.; ~ *ni-*), Sho. (& r.: *este*; ~ r.: *cryste, wyste*).

nu- e) PM(L) (& r.: *lustēn* inf.), KGr., AR, Tit. — f) OEh, ON, RGl. (& r.: *wuste, truste, kuste* pt.).

**nillēn* (= *ne* + *willēn*) (pres. ind. & opt.; imp.). 250

ni-, ny- a) CM (CE), Ps. — b) O, Man. (~ *ne-*), GE, Bok. — c) Ch. (& r.: *wille* s.).

ne- b) Man. (~ *ny-*) — c) LCh. — f) OEh (~ *nu-*), ON (~ *nu-*), RGl. (sg.; & r.: *telle*; ~ pl. *no-*) — g) VV, PM(D), KS, Ay. (~ *no-*), Sho. (& r.: *skele* s.).

nu- e) KGr., AR, Tit. — f) WFr., OEh (~ *ne-*), ON (~ *ne-*).

no- f) RGl. (pl.; ~ sg. *ne-*) — g) Ay. (~ *ne-*).

[Cf. *nylde* pt. Man. (r), which is probably a ME formation on the pres. form *nyl* etc.].

251 a, b, c, (d). Apart from the isolated *e*-forms *nelt* Man. (1) and *nel* L.Ch. (1), which may both be Southern forms (cf. for Man. above § 68 f.), our Northern, Midl., and London texts have only *i*- & *y*-forms, regularly representing OAngl. *ȳ* (> *ī*).

e. The »Saxon-Mercian» texts have constantly *-u-* (= *ū*) < OE *ȳ*.

f. The SW texts have *-u-*, regularly representing OWS *ȳ*, and (: RGl.) *-o-* in **nillen* (probably with the *ū*-vowel of *wol* etc., cf. § 341); further *e*-forms of **nillen*, which correspond to similar OWS forms (cf. § 381). RGl. uses this *ne*-form only in sg., as against only *no-* in pl. (cf. § 207); this distribution of *ne-* and *no-* forms is perhaps due to the analogy of *shall* etc. (in RGl. generally *ssal*, *ssalt* sg. pres., *ssolle* pl. pres., *ssolde* pt.: cf. PABST, Anglia 13, 236); cf. Ay., below (§ 252).

252 g. Our Kent. texts have generally *-e-* (in **niten*, **nillen*) and *-i-*, *-y-* (in **niten*; cf. also the rime *neste* pt.: *cryste* in Sho.), of which the *e*-form regularly represents OKent. *ȳ* > *ē*, while the *i*- & *y*-form (= *ī*) of **niten* has probably adopted the vowel of *witen* etc., which all but consistently appears with *-i-*, *-y-* in our Kent. texts (for *we*-forms in Ay. and Sho., cf. §§ 234, 243, 246, 288). But Ay. has also *nolle*, *-eþ*, which except for one *nelle* is the exclusive pres. pl. form of the word in this text (as against pres. sg. *nelle* 26 cases ~ *nolle* he 3 cases). This evidently looks like a SW form (based on OWS *ȳ* > ME SW *ū*; > *ū*); but as the dialect of Ay. is remarkably pure (: there are no other cases of SW influence in the words discussed in this work) and as, further, all the rest of our Kent. texts, even the »mixed» VV (cf. § 217) and the late West Kent. Sho., have only *ne*-forms of this word, the *no*-form in Ay. will have to be explained otherwise. The explanation is in fact very easy: the *no*-form is

due to the analogy of the verb *shall* etc., which in Ay. (: cf. MORRIS' ed. p. LXXXV) has the forms *ssel*, *sselt* sg. pres., *ssolie*, *ssollen* pl. pres., *ssolde* pt. This explanation also accounts for the fact that the *no*-form in Ay. is practically limited to the plur. (cf. RGl., above).

B. Prim. OE *w* + vowel liable to breaking or u/o-umlaut. 253

1. Prim. OE *w* $\ddot{i}$ + *h*.

wiht s. »wight» (incl. *nawiht*, *nowiht*, full forms).

wi-, *wy-* a) DEn. (& r.: *mycht* etc.), NLeg., CM (CE), Ps. (& r.: *bright* adj. etc.), RRPr. (& r.: *right* etc.) — b) O, Man. (& r.: *fight* etc.), B (& r.: *might* s.), Bok. (& r.: *knyght* s.) — c) Ch. (& r.: *knyght* etc.) — d) Gaw., Prose Ps., Myrc (& r.: *nyghte* s., etc.) — e) PM(L) (& r.: *nihte* s.), KGr., AR, Tit. — f) WFr., OEH, ON (& r.: *rihte* adj., *aniht*), RGl. (r.: *riht*) — g) PM(D) (& r.: *drihte*, *isihðe*).

[For ME contracted forms of original OE (*n*)*awiht*, (*n*)*owiht*, see the individual texts. I do not discuss these forms here, because it cannot be decided to what extent the OE (*n*)*a(u)ht*, (*n*)*oht* from which the contracted ME forms probably derive directly, really passed through a distinct stage *-w u h t*. Cf. the common (*n*)*oht* in the OAngl. dialect (Ri., Li., Ru.²; VPs., Ru.¹), where we have no cases of *wu-* < *w i u* - < $\ddot{w} \ddot{i}$ - / *h*].

wiht s. »weight».

wi-, *wy-* b) NG (~ *we-*), PP, Bok. — c) Ch. (& r.: *brighte*

etc.) LCh. (~ *wei-*) — d) Myrc — e) PM(L) (& r.: *mihte* s.), (?) AR (i. e. *wihtful* adj.) — f) Winch. — g) PM(D) (& r.: *mihte* s.), Ay.

we(i)- a) BB, DEñ. (& r.: *hecht* pt.), CM (CE), Ps., RRPr. (& r.: *sleght*) — b) O, NG (~ *wy-*) — c) LCh. (~ *wi-*).

W i h t n. pr. »Isle of Wight».

wizt f) RGl. (& r.: *rizt*).

W i h t l e g n. pr.

wiztleg f) RGl.

254 *bitw i h e*, -eñ.

-*twi-* f) OEH.

-*tu-* e) KGr., Tit.

-*tw-* e) AR.

a-, *bitw i x*, -*t*, etc.

-*twi-*, -*twy-* a) Sc. Ch. (~ -*e-*), BB, DEñ., NLeg., CM (CE), Ps. — b) Chr. (~ -*u-*), Man. (& r.: *crucyfux*), NG, PP, B, Bok. — c) Ch., [L Ch., cf. § 115] — d) Prose Ps. — f) OEH (~ -*u-*) — g) Sho. (& r.: *icristned*; ~ -*e-*).

-*twe-* a) Sc. Ch. (~ -*i-*, -*y-*) — g) Sho. (~ -*i-*, -*y-*).

-*t(w)u-* b) Chr. (~ -*y-*) — f) WFr., OEH (~ -*i-*), ON.

fulluht s.

b) O — e) AR — f) OEH.

[Cf. the syncopated forms *fulht* etc. s., -(n)*en* etc. v. O, KGr., OEH (& -*ehte*), *folghþe*, -*the* s. Myrc (& r.: *wolþe* »will»). These forms are however of no use in the present case, because they do not necessarily presuppose earlier forms with -(w)*u-* (< w i u < w i -); cf. *nauht* etc. above].

255 [The probably Scand. *wiht* adj. -*ly* adv. (: BJÖRKMAN pp. 19 f., 225) has only *wi-*, *wy-* : a) BB (& r.: *mycht*), DEñ. (& r.: *hicht* s. etc.), NLeg. (& r.: *sight* s.), CM(CE) (& r.:

might s.), RRPr. (& r.: *light*) — b) Man. (& r.: *highte* pt. etc.), PP, GE — c) Ch. (& r.: *-ight*) — d) Gaw. — f) (?) RGl. (i. e. *wiztemen*)].

a, b, c, d & g. The *u*-forms of *bitwix*, *fulluht* in Chr. 256 and O are evidently of OWS origin (cf. below § 257, and above §§ 55, 60). The Northern, East Midland, and London *e*-forms of *wiht* s. »weight» probably have the vowel of the verb (OE *wegan*), though an influence of the corresponding OWScand. substantive form is also possible (cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 257 and references given there); and *by-tuext* etc. in Sho. (cf. § 241) and the numerous *e*-variants of the word in Sc. Ch. probably go back to OE *e(o)*-forms (cf. below § 383, foot-note).

Apart from these forms, our Northern, Midland, London, and Kent. texts have only *-i-*, *-y-*, evidently derived (except for *betwix* etc., cf. § 6, foot-note) from OAngl. $\check{i}$ due to »smoothing» and OKent $< \check{i}o / h + \text{cons.}$ (: BÜLBR. El. §§ 311, 312).

e. The *u*-forms of *bitwihe(n)*, *fulluht* in the »Saxon-Mer- 257 cian» texts (: KGr., AR, Tit.; PM(L) has no cases) and the form *bitwhen* in AR (provided that *-w-* here stands for *-wu-* or *-u-*) are evidently of OWS origin (cf. below). The *i*-forms (of *wiht* »wight», *wiht* »weight») in these texts may derive from OAngl. (cf. above) or from OWS *i*-forms (cf. below).

f. The (*w*)*u*-forms of *bitwix*, *bitwihe(n)*, *fulluht* in our SW texts derive from regular OWS (*w*)*u*-forms of these words (: cf. BÜLBR. El. §§ 264, 464 c., SIEVERS Gr. § 71). — The *i*- & *y*-forms in the same texts spring from OWS forms with $w\check{i}- < w\check{i}e- < w\check{i}o- / ht, hs$ (: BÜLBR. El. §§ 306,

311); except for the isolated *betwihen* in OEH, which however may also spring from an OWS *wi*-form (cf. § 383, foot-note), and *bitwix*, *-an* in OEH for which see § 6, foot-note.

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2. Prim. OE *wīr* + cons.

[? *wurð* 3 sg. pres. ind.

werþ g) Sho. (r.: *forthe* adv.). — For *wur-* & *wor-* forms of *wurðen* etc. v., see § 268 ff. and below B 4].

wurðe adj.

wer- g) Sho. (& r.: *erþe*; cf. *wor-*: *erþe*, *ferþe*, see B 4).

wurðschipe, *-en* s. & v.

wir, *-y-* a) DĒn. (cf. *wor-*), NLeg., CM(C) (cf. *wor-*), RRPr.(H) (cf. *wor-*) — b) Man. (cf. *wor-*), NG (cf. *wor-*), Bok. (cf. *wor-*, *wur-*) — d) Prose Ps. (cf. *wor-*).

For *wur-* & *wor-* forms of *wurð*, *-e* s. & adj., etc., see § 268 ff. and below B 4.

259 *wurs*, *-e* comp.

wer- (-æ-) a) DĒn. (cf. *werre*), CM(C) (cf. *werre*), RRPr. (CH) — b) Chr. (& -æ-), O (cf. *werre*), PP, [Bok.; cf. § 98 f.] — c) Ch. (& r.: *reherce* etc.; ~ *wor-*; cf. *werre*) — g) VV (~ *wur-*), PM (D).

wir- b) Man. (I case; ~ *wor-*; cf. *werre*).

wur- e) PM (L), KGr., AR, Tit. — f) OEH, ON (~ *wr-*, *wor-*) — g) VV (~ *wer-*).

wr- f) ON (~ *wur-*, *wor-*).

wor- b) Man. (~ *wir-*; cf. *werre*) — c) Ch. (& r.: *curs* s., *corse* v. »curse»; ~ *wer-*; cf. *werre*) — d) Gaw. (cf. *werre*), Myrc (& r.: *corse* s. »curse», cf. *werre*) — f) ON (& r.: *mershe* s.;

~ *wur-*, *wr-*), RGl. — g) Ay., Sho. (& r. : *cors*, -e »curse«).

[Cf. the Scand. *werre* comp.:

wer- a) BB (& r. : *fer*; ~ *war-*), NLeg. (& r. : *ferr*), CM (CE) (& r. : *mere* s. (ě), *terr* s.; ~ *war-*) — b) O, Man. (& r. : *erre* v.), GE — c) Ch. (r. : *werre* s.).

war- a) BB (~ *wer-*), DEn., CM(C).

wor- (cf. § 133) d) Gaw., Myrc (r. : *neghbore* s.)).

wursien v.

wer- b) O — c) Procl.

wur- e) KGr., AR., Tit. — f) OEH.

wor- g) Ay.

[Cf. *werre* v. (< the Scand. *werre* comp.):

warris 3 sg. pres. ind. a) DEn.].

wurst sup.

wer- a) BB, NLeg., CM (C), Ps., RRPr. (CH) — b) O, Man. (& r. : *yncest* s.; ~ *wor-*), PP, Bok. (~ *wur-*) — d) Prose Ps. — g) VV.

wur- b) Bok. (& r. : *adust*; ~ *wer-*) — e) PM (L), KGr., AR, Tit. — f) WFr.

wr- f) ON (& r. : *toberste*; ~ *wor-*).

wor- b) Man. (~ *wer-*) — c) Ch., LCh. — d) Gaw. — f) ON (~ *wr-*), R Gl. — g) Ay., Sho. (cf. § 242).

wurte s.

woort »ciromellum» b) PP.

For *swire* s. (~ *sweore*, cf. B 4), see below § 266.

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For *wurthen* v. (cf. § 7), see below C 3.

Cf. the following words, which do not appear in OE:

261

hwirl, -en s. & v.

-irl-, -y- a) DEn. (& r. : *thirlit* pp.; ~ -erl-) — b) PP, [Bok., cf. § 98 f.] — d) Gaw., Prose Ps.

-erl- a) DEn. (~ -irl-).

sqwirtel s.

sq(w)yrtyl s. b) PP.

swirl s. & v.

swirl a) DEN. (~ -*wor*-).

sworl- a) DEN. (~ -*wir*-).

262 **a, b.** The Northern and EMidl. *wir*- & *wyr*-forms of *wurs(e)* (one single case) and *wurðschipe* (for *swire* see § 266) evidently spring from OE *wyr* - (cf. § 385). This is also the basis of the same forms of *hwirl*, *sqwirtel*, *swirl*, unless these words are of Scand. origin, as is in fact probably the case with *hwirl* (for *swirl* see below).

Our Northern and EMidl. texts have no other *w*-modified forms than *wors(e)*, *-worst* Man., *wurst* Bok., *woort* PP, and *sworl*- DEN. — *swirl* is considered by SKEAT Et. Dict. as a Scand. word; if this derivation is correct, the *-o*-form in DEN. is probably an early instance of the change of *ǃ* > (*ũ*) > *u* after *w*- in the Sc. dialects (cf. WRIGHT EDGr. § 69, MUTSCHMANN §§ 51, 56 b, and below § 338). — The *wor*-forms in Man. could tainly be explained as SW or WMidl. forms introduced by the scribe (cf. for other cases of this kind, above § 68), and *wurst*, *woort* in Bok., PP are not quite above the suspicion of being loans from the South (: viz. London), since both these texts are written as late as towards the middle of the 15th century; but as proved by the forms *wurm* etc. (cf. § 361 f.), these *wor*-forms etc. may all be regularly developed from O(E)Merc. *w ȳ r* - .

For the Northern and EMidl. *wer*-forms of *wurs(e)* etc., see § 267.

263 **c.** The *wor*-forms (of *wurs(e)*, *wurst*) in the London texts (Ch., LCh.) are best explained as being of Southern origin. — The *wer*-forms (of *wurs(e)*, *wursien*) in Procl., Ch. (& r.)

are Kent. or Scand., in Ch. at least probably Scand. (cf. §§ 109, 267).

d. The *wor-* forms in the W Midl. texts — *wors(e)* (and probably *worre*, cf. §§ 133, 143) Gaw., Myrc (& r.) and *worst* Gaw. — no doubt derive from an OWMerc. *w ǣ r -* (> *w ũ r -*, cf. § 365). — The isolated *wirschip* in Prose Ps. is perhaps rather an EMidl. than a native WMidl. form (cf. above §§ 129, 258), and the *i-* & *y-* forms of *hwirl* in Gaw. and Prose Ps. probably have Scand. *ĩ* (cf. above). — For *werst* Prose Ps., see § 267.

e. The »Saxon-Mercian» texts have only *wur-* (in *wurs(e)*, *wursien*, *wurst*). This *wur-* stands for *w ũ r* or (cf. § 367) *w ǔ r*; representing respectively, late OWS or late OAngl. (cf. § 361 f.) *w ũ r* (< *w ỹ r*), and OWS or OAngl. *w ỹ r*.

f. As to our SW texts, the *wor-* forms (of *wurs(e)*, *wurst*) 264 ON, RGl. evidently stand for *w ũ r -*, which probably derives directly from the late OWS *w ũ r* < *w ỹ r*. — The *wur-* forms (of *wurs(e)*, *wursien*, *wurst*) in WFr., OEH, ON stand for *w ũ r -* or (cf. § 367) for *w ǔ r -*; representing, respectively, late OWS *w ũ r -* (< *w ỹ r*) and late OWS *w ỹ r -*.

The author of ON used the pronunciation *w e r -* in *wurse*, as appears from the rime : *mersche* s. »marsh» 303 [*wrste* sup. 121 (: *toberste*) is probably due to a mistake of the scribe who wrote MS. C, perhaps a bad reading for a *wurste* »first» in his source (: for initial *u* for *v*, *f*, see GADOW § 74, 2); cf. MS. A *vyrste*, which certainly suits the context far better]. — For the explanation of the *w e r -* form we have the choice between Kent. and Scand. (cf. § 267) influence. Of these alternatives the former seems the preferable one, since the rime to *toberste* as emendated above seems to presuppose Kent. *-e-* in »first»; and perhaps also the rimes OE *ȳ* : OE *e o* (: *honne* »hence», (?) *þenne* »thence», (?) *eorne* »run») recorded by GADOW § 51 — unless they are based on forms with *ü* < OE *e o*; cf.

the WMidl. texts, § 130 — were meant by the author to be rimes $\check{e} : \check{e}$ and not (as supposed by GADOW l. c.) $\ddot{u} : \ddot{o}$. — Kent. e-forms in this text may in fact very well be of OE origin, since *Portisham* in Dorsetshire, in whose neighbourhood ON must have been written (cf. GADOW § 5 f.), is not far from the coast-line facing the Isle of Wight which was invaded by settlers of the Jutish race (cf. the map given by KLUGE in PAUL's Grundriss).

- 265 g. The Kent. *wer*-forms (of *wurs(e)*, *wurst*, *wurðe* adj.) in VV, PM(D), Sho. (& r.; cf. also the rimes *worþe*, *-rthe* adj.: *erþe*, *ferþe*) [*werþ* 3 sg. pres. ind. in Sho. is probably a scribal error, cf. above § 244] no doubt derive from OKent. *wēr* - < *wyr* < *wūr* - < *wīur* - < *wīr* -; cf. the forms *werstum* »pessimis» KGl. (1), *werðnes* »dignitatis» KGl. (1), *līcwerðe* adj. KPs. (1), and probably *ðwerre* »perversi», *ðweran*, *ðwerwig* »perversa via» KGl. (3)¹. — On the other hand, since there does not seem to have existed a Kent. change of *wȳr* - > *wūr* - (cf. § 368), the forms *wors(e)* Ay., Sho. (& r.), *worst(e)*, Ay., Sho., *worsi* inf. Ay., and perhaps (if not < OWS) *wurse* in VV — provided they are not loans from the SW, which can hardly be the case with the forms in the EKent. Ay. — evidently imply an alternative OKent. non-monophthongized form *wior*-, *-eo*- (< *wīr* -; cf. the regular development in pre-literary OWS). This diphthong-

¹) These last forms are considered by IRENE WILLIAMS (: A Grammatical Investigation of the Old Kentish Glosses. Bo. Btr XIX) as due to a »bad spelling» (for *-weo*-; cf. *ðweorum* »perversi» KGl. (1)). But the forms may be quite satisfactorily explained on the basis of earlier *wȳr* < *wīur* < *wīr*: **þwīrhjan* (~ **þwerhan*; cf. OE *swira* etc. ~ *sweora*, below §§ 266, 313 f.). This derivation is evidently presupposed by the early OWS form *þwyran* (4 cases in Orosius, where it is the only form; from the other early OWS texts COSIJN records only *þweor*-), and by the following forms in MS. Cp of the OWS Gospels: *þwyre* Mt 17/17, *þwure*, -u L 3/5, 9/41 (as against only *þweore* in MS. A). — Cf. also the verb *þwyrian* »adversari» < **þwīorhjan* (: SIEVERS Gr. § 400 Anm. 1).

ic OKent. form was later (probably in late OKent., cf. § 305) monophthongized along with the presumably identical *weor-*, *-io-* < prim. OE *w ě r -*. As to the original quality of the resulting monophthong (: *ũ* or *õ*) in the words of this group our texts tell us nothing; both Ay. and Sho. consistently write *-o-* for OE *ũ* and OE *õ*, and Sho.'s rimes *wors(e)*: *cors(e)* »curse» are contradicted by his rimes *worþ* etc. adj. & 3 sg. pres. ind.: *forþe* etc. adv. (cf. §§ 244, 305). — It is true that the OKent. forms that can be adduced as instances of a development of prim. OE *w ě r -* > literary OKent. *wior-*, *-eo-* may all be explained otherwise — *weorðne*, *diorweorðum* adj. KGl. (2), KPs. (1) may belong to an original *weorð* adj. (< *w ě r -*), and *weorðe* adj. KChart. (3), *forweorð* »peribit» KGl. (1), *aweorþð* »abicit» KGl. (1), may all have an analogical *weor-* < *w ě r -* [: cf. *wiorð* s. KChart. (1), *weorðlican* adj. KGl. (1), (-)*weorðia*e, *-as*, *-iað* KChart. (2), KGl. (2), (-)*weorðan* etc. v. KChart. (1), KPs. (5), *aweorþð[u]* KGl. (1), *ne aweorþ ðu* »abicias» KGl. (1)] — ; but the absence of conclusive cases (especially corresponding forms of *wurs(e)*, *wurst*) really proves nothing, since the OKent. texts are very scanty.

Special cases.

266

swire s. (< **swirhjan* : KLUGE PBB. XI, 558; ≈ **swerhan*, cf. *sweore* below § 313 f).

swi-, *-y-* a) BB, DĒn. (& r.: *fyre* s.; cf. *sweore*), CM (C) (& r.: *fire* s.) — d) Gaw. — e) KGr., AR (cf. *sweore*), Tit.

The regular OAngl. form is *swira* (cf. below § 285); and this form (: *swira*, *-an*, *-e*, *-beg*, etc.) is in fact the only form found in Ri., Li., Ru²., VPs., Ru¹. — From the OWS dialect COSIJN records regularly (cf. below, § 386) *swiran* (4) ~ *swyra* (1) — both < *swier-*, which does not actually oc-

cur — (~ *swio-*, *sweo-*, cf. below § 314); and the late OWS MS. Cp of the Gospels has *swyran* Mt 18/6 and (its later representative) *swuran* Mk 9/42, L 17/2 (MS. A has only *sweo-*, cf. below § 314). — The OKent. forms would regularly (cf. below § 387) be *swera* (< -wyr-) and *sweora* etc. (< -wiur-); I have not, however, found any cases of the word in the OKent. texts (cf. above § 15).

Concerning the ME (*i-* & *y-*)forms as recorded above, those found in our Northern and Midl. texts no doubt represent the OAngl. -w i-form. But the same (OAngl.) form is also unmistakably represented by the -*wi*-forms in KGr. and AR, which texts (practically) never use -*i-* for OE *y*; and probably also by the -*wi*-forms in Tit., where -*u-* is at any rate the usual representative of OE *y* (cf. § 148).

As to the length of the vowel, BÜLBR. El. § 529 gives the Anglian form as *swīra*. In the OWS dialect at least there must however have existed a variant with short vowel, as it seems likely (cf. BÜLBR. El. §§ 280, 287) that the change of *wyr* > *wur* implied by the late OWS *swuran* (cf. above § 1, foot-note 2) included only *ŷ* (not also *ȳ*). — The ME forms do not allow of any conclusions as to the vowel quantity of their OE ground-forms.

For the Kent. *we-* & *-wie*-forms (which might belong here), see below § 313 f.

267 Northern and Midl. *wer*-forms of *wurs(e)*, *-rsien*, *-rst* (cf. § 259).

In my opinion there can be no doubt that these Northern and Midl. *wer*-forms are due to Scand. influence: *werst* is the OScand. *verst(r)* (< *w-*), and *wers(e)* etc. comp. & v. has its vowel from *werst* and from the comp. form *werre*, which is also of Scand. origin (cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 225). — This Northern and Midl. *wer*-form of *wurs(e)* comp. is consequently

a secondary form, and on this account no doubt later in English than the corresponding form of *wurst*. In some parts at least it must however have been developed very early, cf. *wers*, *wæse* in Chr. But the absence of *werse* (as against *werre*, *werst*) in BB, NLeg. may perhaps be due to the fact that this form was not (yet) developed in the dialects represented by these texts; cf. also the modern Windhill dialect, from which WRIGHT (Dial. Soc. No. 67) records only »*waə(r)* worse, *wāst* worst», but no comp. form with -s.

This very obvious explanation of the *wer*-forms in question (already proposed by MUTSCHMANN § 88 *a* for the -*a*-form of »worst» in the North-Eastern Sc. dialects) is strongly supported by the fact that these forms can hardly be satisfactorily explained in any other way. On account of their regular occurrence they cannot be Kent. loans, or stand for — or be developed from — earlier *wīr-* (< *w ỹ r-*); and the assumption of an OMerc. *weor-* < *wīur-* < *wīr-* (cf. MÜHLE § 41) would not be supported by any form — of this or any other word — actually found in the extant OMerc. texts.

wur- & *wor-*forms of *wurð*, -*e* s. & adj., etc., *wurðen* etc. v. 268

In the words falling under this special heading, forms regularly based upon prim. OE *wīr-* (e. g. late OWS *wyrð* 3 sg. pres. ind., *wyrðe* adj.) co-existed in OE with forms regularly based upon prim. OE *wē r-* (e. g. OWS *weorðan* inf., *weorð* s.); and it very naturally followed that each of the two different types of forms occasionally encroached upon the other's territory in the course of the OE period. Such an encroachment is the cause of the appearance of non-umlauted forms in 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. of *weorðan*, especially in the Anglian dialects (where it is part of a general tendency affecting practically all verbs, cf. SIEVERS Gr. § 371 Anmm. 5, 6); and the OWS forms *weorðe* adj. and, on the

other hand, *wyrð* s., *wyrðen* v., quoted by SWEET, Dict., may be due, partly at least, to an analogy of the same kind.

269 The question as to how far the original distinction of prim. OE *wīr*- and prim. OE *wēr*- in these words was kept in ME, and how far it had been levelled out analogically, is very difficult to decide. In the first place prim. OE *wīr* / cons. and prim. OE *wēr* / cons. could to a great extent fall together, phonetically and orthographically, already in OE [: in late OWS and, it seems, also in late OMerc. (cf. §§ 262, 298) under *wur*-; in OKent. under *weor*- (*wior*-), which could later be monophthongized (cf. §§ 265, 305)]; and this coalescence of the two forms was made still more complete, phonetically and above all orthographically, in ME. Secondly, it should be observed as regards *wurð*, -e s. & adj. etc., that after the stressed vowels of the unlauded and the non-unlauded forms had in this way become the same, inflected forms and [after the final -e had been dropped in ME] even uninflected forms of the OE adj. *wyrðe* could fall completely together with the corresponding forms of OE *weorð* (etc.). The only ME cases with *wur*-, *wor*- certainly based on the originally unlauded OE variant of this adj. would consequently be uninflected forms with -e in texts in which this -e may be safely considered to trace back to OE; instances of this kind are probably some forms with -e in O, KGr., AR, Tit., WFr., OEH (which texts also have forms without -e, probably based on the originally non-unlauded OE form). I have not attempted, however, to give a separate list containing all cases of this kind; because it would have to be based upon an investigation into the nature of the final -e in all the ME texts in question, an investigation which I cannot undertake in this connection.

270 Consequently : apart from some *wīr*- (& *wyr*-) and (Kent.) *wer*-forms, and a few *we(o)r*- & *wor*-forms, which indicate respectively OE unlauded and OE non-unlauded forms, we can-

not tell with absolute certainty in the case of any individual ME form of the words in question whether it derives from an etymologically correct or an analogical OE form; and in many cases (: *wurð* adj. and compounds) we cannot even decide which is the etymologically correct vowel. But we may derive some general results from the actual relations of the forms in OE texts. These relations can however only be ascertained in OAngl. and OWS texts, where (except for very late OWS texts with *wur-* < *wëor-* and < *wÿr-*) prim. OE *wīr-* and prim. OE *wēr-* were consistently kept apart. In the Kent. dialect on the other hand prim. OE *wīr-* and prim. OE *wēr-* could, it seems, both appear as *weor-* (cf. above, § 265), and consequently the OKent. *weor-* (& *wior-*) forms belonging here (: given above § 265) tell us nothing as to the prim. OE origin of the ME Kent. *wor-* forms of which they are evidently the source.

wurð, -e s. & adj., etc.

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The ONhb texts Ri., Li., Ru². (cf. LINDELÖF, Wörterbuch; COOK, Glossary; LINDELÖF, Glossar) have only (-) *wyrðe* adj. (incl. *wyrðne* acc. sg. m., etc.; (?) *arwyrðne* adv. Ru². (2)), and on the other hand only *worð* s. & adj., *worðung*, -*scipe*, -*are* s.; but beside *worðnise* s. (Li.), *worðlic* (Ri.), (-) *worðiga* etc. v. (Ri., Li., Ru²; usual form, in Ru². ~ 2 *weor-*, 1 *wear-*) also *wyrðnise* (Ri.), (-) *wyrðlic* (Ri., Li.), (-) *wyrðiga* etc. v.

The OMerc. VPs., Ru¹. (cf. GRIMM, Glossar; SCHULTE, Glossar) have (apart from *worð-*, *worðig-* s. »platea», cf. § 9 & foot-note) consistently *weorð* s. »pretium», (-) *weorði(g)an* v. (~ *wear-* VPs. (1), *wor-* Ru¹ (1)), and on the other hand only -*wyrðe* adj. VPs. has also *orwyrðe* dat. sg. »ignominia» (1).

The early pure OWS texts (i. e. those used by COSIJN, cf. above, § 15) have regularly (-) *wierðe*, (-) *wirðe*, (-) *wyrðe* adj. (numerous), *wyrðig* adj. Or. (1), and on the other hand only (-) *weorð* s. & adj., -*lic*(-), -*ful*(-), -*ung*, -*nes*, *weorðian*

v., *w(e)orðig* »fundus» (2; cf. § 9 & foot-note); but beside usual *weorðscipe*, *-mynd* also *wyrðscipe* (1), *wyrðmynt*, *-nd*, *-ndu* (3) (all in MS. H of Cura Pastoralis). — *wurðne* »dignum» (1) is ambiguous; scribal error?

For late OWS I give as instances the forms of MS. A of the WS Gospels: (-)*wyrðe* adj. (incl. inflected forms) (24), *þancwyrðlice* (1), *arwyrðre* comp. (1); as against *weorð* s., *-fulra* adj., *-scype* s., *-mynt* s. (10), (-)*weorðlice* etc. (4), *weorðe* adj. (pl. nom. m.) (1), (-)*weorðian* v. (18); ~ (-)*wurðian* (2; < *wëor*).

272 The distribution of prim. OE *wŷr*- and prim. OE *wë r*- in these texts can of course not be considered to represent the exclusive usage in the dialects to which they belong; above all we should be cautious in drawing conclusions from the absence of one form or the other. But the texts agree remarkably well on some points, where we consequently may be justified in concluding that they represent the general, though probably not the only OE usage up to about A. D. 1000. Thus we find that — disregarding the isolated *orwyrðe* dat. sg. in VPs., which may come from prim. OE *wŷr* — only prim. OE *wŷr*- occurs in the adj. (-)*wyrðe* etc., and on the other hand only prim. OE *wë r*- in *weorð* etc. s. & adj., and in derivatives with *-ful* (which is only used with substantives); but beside the usual (and no doubt original) prim. OE *wë r*- also the unlauded OE variant (< prim. OE *wŷr*-) occurs in derivatives with suffixes which could be added to adjectives as well as to substantives: *-nise*, *-lic*, *-scipe*, *-mynd*, as also in the denominative verb in *-ian*. These unlauded variants are probably formed directly from the adj. *wyrðe* etc.

273 Now, as the development of *wŷ r* / cons. > *wŷ r* seems to have taken place in the Angl. dialect as well as in OWS in the course of the 11th century (cf. §§ 262, 361 f.), it seems evident that the unlauded form of the adj. (: *wyrðe*

etc.) in these dialects must have lived to take part in this development (in OWS it could perhaps also keep its $\ddot{y}$ -vowel into ME, cf. § 367); and that consequently this form is mainly the basis of the early ME adj. form with -e (cf. § 269), and — after the -e had ceased to be pronounced — to some extent also of the subsequently universal form n -rþ (: written *wurð(e)*, *word(e)* etc.). — On the other hand, non-umlauted OAngl. and OWS forms must be the main source, in the corresponding ME dialects, of the early adj. form *wurð* (as against -e, cf. § 269), *wurð* s., and the derivative -ful; and probably also to some extent the source, in the same dialects, of derivatives which may contain the adj. as well as the subst. (cf. above). — The common ME *wurðiȝ* etc. is probably a ME formation to *wurð* s. and not a direct continuation of the scarce OE *wyrðig* adj. *wurðen* etc. v.

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ON h b. Ri., Li., Ru.² : (-) *worda* etc. (incl. 3 sg. pres. ind.).

OMerc. VPs. : (-) *weorðan* etc. (incl. 3 sg. pres. ind.). — Ru.¹ : *gewyrð* 3 sg. pres. ind. (1), *wyrðe* pres. opt. sg. (1); ~ *weorðað* etc. (: -að, -aþ, -æd) 3 sg. pres. ind. (4), -an etc. inf., pres. opt., pl. & 1 sg. pres. ind. (15); *wearþe* sg. pres. opt. (1); *werþeð* 3 sg. pres. ind. (1), -e, -að pres. opt. & pl. pres. ind. (2), *gewearþe* pl. pres. opt. (1).

Early OWS (according to COSIJN, cf. above § 15): *wierð* (52), *wirð* (14), *wyrð*, *wyrst*, *wyrðest* (35) 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind., *wyrðen* pres. opt. »fiant» (2); ~ *weorðan* inf., etc. (numerous), *weorðesð* »fis» (1), *weorðeð* »fit» (2) (*werð* »fit» 3 sg. pres. ind. (1) is a scribal error or a misprint : COSIJN § 19, p. 39). Cf. also *weorðeð* 3 sg. pres. ind. (1) in Charter No. 45, SWEET OET. — Late OWS GOSPELS (MS. A) : (-) *wyrð* 3 sg. pres. ind. (8); ~ -*weorð* 3 sg. pres. ind. (2), (-) *weorðan* inf. etc. (53).

The practically exclusive use of non-umlauted forms

(also in 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind.) in ONhb and OMerc. — the isolated -y-forms in Ru.¹ may be individual loans from OWS, and the *wer-* (& *wær-*) forms in the same text are probably due to the analogy of such verbs as ONhb *beora* etc. — especially as it is due to a general tendency in these dialects (cf. § 268), certainly justifies the conclusion that OE non-umlauted forms are mainly the basis not only of the inf. etc. (with original *w ě r-*) but also of the 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. forms in the ME Northern and Midl. dialects. The (synco-pated) forms *wurp* O, *wurð(e)* GE (3 sg. pres. ind.) probably derive, however, from OMerc. (or OWS ?) *wyrð*, as the introduction of the analogical -e o- in the ONhb and OMerc. dialects seems to have taken place only in combination with the introduction of full endings.

- 276 On the other hand the very regular appearance of umlauted 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. forms in OWS, even in the late MS. A of the WS Gospels, makes it doubtless that these forms were continued, at least in some measure, into the corresponding ME dialect; either with *y* (ü) — cf. 367 — or with *u* < *ŷ*, as the change of *w ŷ r* / cons. > *w ũ r* appears already in MSS. of the OWS Gospels contemporary with MS. A. — The variant with *ü*, if really existing in early ME, may however have been lost through the general substitution in the 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. of non-umlauted forms for the original umlauted ones which took place in that period; but this general levelling could not affect the *w u r-* (< *w ŷ r-*) variant, which had already in late OWS got the same vowel as the originally non-umlauted *w u r-* (< *w ě o r-*) form. — *forwurðest* 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. in OEH probably — though not necessarily, cf. the early OWS *wyrðest* (Cura Pastoralis) — indicates an analogical non-umlauted vowel, especially since non-umlauted forms of this kind are not rare in OWS texts (cf. the early OWS cases quoted above § 274, and further SIEVERS Gr. § 371, Anm. 2, 3). — The all but

consistent use of full endings in 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. of *wurðen* in the »Saxon-Mercian» AR and Tit. (cf. §§ 167, 179) makes it probable that these texts have *wur-* < *wēr-* in these forms according to the general rule in the OMerc. dialect, on which they are no doubt based in this particular.

How far analogical, *umlauted* forms like *wyrðe*, *-en* 277 pres. opt. (VPs., MS. H of Cura Past.) may have been continued into ME cannot be decided. It is obvious, however, that forms of this kind must be particularly rare in the Northern and Midl. ME dialects, since the regular *wyr*-forms from which they must have been formed, seem to have been almost universally abandoned at an early date in ONhb and OMerc.

3. Prim. OE *w* + *ī* liable to *u/o*-umlaut.

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wude s.

wo- (& *woo-*) a) Sc. Ch., BB (~ *wou-*), DEn., NLeg. (~ *wu-*), CM (CE), Ps. (& r.: *gode* adj.), RRPr. (C) — b) Man., NG, PP (& *woo-*), Bok. — c) Ch. (& *woo-*), LCh. — d) Gaw., Prose Ps. — f) RGl., Winch. — g) PM(D), Ay., Sho.

wou- a) BB (~ *wo-*).

wu- a) NLeg. (~ *wo-*) — b) O, B, GE — e) KGr., AR, Tit. — f) WFr., ON.

widewe s., etc.

wi-, *wy-* a) NLeg., CM (CE), Ps. — b) O, Man., NG, PP, B, Bok. (~ *we-*) — c) Ch. — d) Prose Ps., Myrc — e) KGr., AR, Tit. — f) OEH, RGl.

we- a) DEn. (1 case) — b) Bok. (~ *wy-*) — c) LCh.

wo- [a] (?) *wodwit* Sc. Ch., cf. s. § 17] — g) Ay.

cu de s.

cu- a) CM (C) — b) O, PP.

279 *suster*

swu- g) VV (~ *su-*).

su- b) Chr., O, NG (2 cases; ~ *si-*, *sy-*), Bok. (cf. § 100) —

c) Ch. (~ *so-*), LCh. (~ *si-*) — d) Gaw. (~ *si-*), Myrc — e) PM(L), KGr., AR, Tit. — f) OEH — g) VV (~ *swu-*), PM(D).

so- c) Ch. (r.: *pater noster*; ~ *su-*) — f) RGl. — g) Ay. (i. e. *zo-*), Sho.

si-, *sy-* a) Sc. Ch., LB, DEñ., NLeg., CM (CE), RRPr. (H) — b) Man., NG (~ *su-*), PP, GE — c) LCh (1 case; ~ *su-*) — d) Gaw. (~ *su-*).

sutel adj., etc.

su- b) O — e) KGr., AR, Tit. — f) OEH.

uten »let us».

ute(n) f) OEH, ON — g) VV (i. e. *wute*, *hute*), PM(D).

* *tuwe* »twice».

twa f) OEH.

welk s. »whelk».

wylke b) PP.

3e-dwimor s.

idwimor f) WFr.

swiper adj., etc.

swi-, *-y-* a) DEñ. (~ *-e-*) — b) PP.

swe- a) DEñ. (~ *-i-*).

280 *swepe* s. »whip, scourge»; *-ing* s. »scourging, affliction».

swe- a) CM (C), Ps. — b) O — e) Tit.

swey- b) PP.

suai- a) CM(E).

hw i ð e s. »breeze».

hw i þ a f) WFr.

w i t e n pl. pt. ind. »went».

w i t e n e) PM(L).

(-) *w i t e* s. »one who knows»; -*n e s s e* s.

w i- b) O — e) Tit. (~ *w e o*-) — f) WFr.

w e o- e) KGr., AR, Tit. (~ *w i*-).

w i t e n v. »know»; »guard».

w i-, *w y*- (& *w i j*- CM(C)) a) Sc. Ch., BB (& r.: *i t*), DEn. (& r.: *z i t*, *p i t* s.), NLeg. (& r.: *ī*), CM (CE) (& r.: *ī*, and : *s e t e* »sit», see § 39; ~ *w e (i)*-), Ps. (& r.: *I s m a e l i t e*, *y h i t e* adv.), RRP. (& r.: *ī*) — b) O, Man. (& r.: *ī*, *ī*), NG (~ *w e*-), PP, B, GE (& r.: *w r i t e n* pp.) — c) Ch. (& r.: *w r i t e n* pp.), LCh. (~ *w e*-) — d) Gaw., Prose Ps. (~ *w e*-), Myrc (& r.: (*i*) *w r y t e (n)* pp.) — e) KGr., AR (~ *w u*-), Tit. — f) OEh, ON (~ *w*-; cf. *w i t e* pres. opt.: *u t s c h u t e* s.), RGl. (& r.: *i w r i t e* pp.; ~ *w e*-, *w (u)*-), Winch. (~ *w e*-) — g) VV, Ay., Sho. (& r.: *y-w r y t e* pp., *p a r t y t e* adj.; ~ *w e*-).

w e- (& *w e i*- CM (C)) a) CM (CE) (~ *w i (j)*-, *w y*-) — b) NG (~ *w i*-, *w y*-), Bok. (& r.: *M a r g r e t e*) — c) LCh. (~ *w y*-) — d) Prose Ps. (~ *w i*-, *w y*-) — f) RGl. (I case; ~ *w i*-, *w y*-, *w (u)*-), Winch. (~ *w i*-, *w y*-) — g) Sho. (& r.: -*h e t e*; ~ *w i*-, *w y*-).

w- f) ON (i.e. *w t e* pres. opt., r.: *w l i t e* s.; ~ *w i*-), RGl. (~ *w u*-, *w i*-, *w y*-, *w e*-).

w u- e) AR (~ *w i*-) — f) RGl. (I case; ~ *w*-, *w i*-, *w y*-, *w e*-).

w i t i e n v. »guard» (cf. § 8).

w i-, *w y*- f) RGl., Winch. (~ *w e*-) — g) Ay.

w e- f) Winch. (~ *w y*-).

w i k e s.

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w i-, *w y*- a) CM (C) (I case; ~ *w o*-) — b) Man. (I case) — c) Ch. (& r.: *p y k e* v., *s y k e* v. »sigh»; ~ *w o w*-), LCh. (~ *w e*-, *w o*-) — e) AR, Tit. — f) OEh.

we- c) [LCh.] (~wy-, wo-).

wu- a) NLeg. (& r.: *boke* s.; ~wo-) — b) O, GE — f) RGl. (I case; ~won-).

wo- (& -ov-, -oi-) a) Sc. Ch. (& -oi-; ~wow-), NLeg. (& r.: *toke* pt.; ~wu-), CM (C) (~wy-) — b) NG (& -ov-), PP, Bok. — c) [LCh.] (~wy-, we-) — g) Ay., Sho. (& r.: $\bar{u}$)

wou-, wow- a) Sc. Ch. (~wo(i)-) — c) Ch. (I case, cf. § 110; ~wy-) — f) RGl. (~wu-).

Cf. *owk*, -*is* a) BB (& r.: *tuk* pt.) (§ 290).

Wirechestre n. pr.

wir- b) Man. — c) Procl. — f) WFr., RGl. (~wur-, wr-).

wur-, wr- f) RGl. (~wir-).

swike s. m.

swi- b) Chr. — e) PM(L), AR — f) OEH, RGl.

sweo- e) Tit.

swike adj.

swi- b) GE (& r.: *witterlike*) — e) AR — f) OEH.

swikel adj.; etc.

swi-, swy- a) Ps. (& r.: *mikel*) — b) Man. (& r.: *mykel*) — e) PM(L), KGr., AR, Tit. — f) OEH, ON, RGl. — g) VV, PM(D).

swiken pl. pt. ind. »ceased».

suyken b) Chr.

swikien v.

swi- f) OEH.

282 *twize(s)* adv. »twice».

twi-, twy- ~-ui-, -uy- a) BB (& r.: *vis* s.), DEn., CM (CE) (& r.: *prise*) — b) O, Man. (& r.: $\bar{i}$) — c) Ch. (& r.: -*yés*) — d) Gaw., Myrc (& r.: *nuye* v. »harm») — e) AR — f) OEH, RGl. (& r.: -*ie*, -*y'e*), Winch. — g) Ay.

cwīc etc. adj. & v.

-*wī*-, -*wī*-, ~-*y*- a) DĒn., NLeg., CM (CE) (& r.:ī), Ps., RRPr. (CH) — b) O, Man. (& r.:ī, &: -*lyk(e)*, -*lik*, -*ik*), PP, B, Bok. (~-*ue*-) — c) Ch. — d) Gaw., Prose Ps., Myrc — e) PM (L), KGr. (cf. § 157), AR, Tit. — f) OEH, RGl. — g) PM (D), Ay., Sho.
que- b) Bok. (~-*y*-).

For *hweonne* adv. in KGr., see above § 157 and foot-note.
 For plur. forms of *twig* s., see above § 8.

a, b, & d. The Northern and Midland texts have (*w*)*u*-, 283
wo- (& *woi*-, *wou*-, *wow*-: Sc. Ch., DĒn.) in *wude*, *cude*,
suster, *sutel* (:O), *wike*; *we*- (& *wei*-: CM (C)) in *widewe*, *swiper*,
swepe, *witen* v., *cwīc* (: Bok.); *wey*-, *uai*- in *swepe* (: CM(E),
 PP); and *wi*-, *wy*- in *widewe*, *suster*, *welk* s., *swiper*, *wite* s.,
witen v., *wike* s. (: CM (C), Man.), *Wirechestre*, *swike* s., *swike*
 adj., *swikel*, *swiken* pl. pt., *twiȝe*(s), *cwīc*.

The (*w*)*u*- & (*w*)*o*-forms (etc.) of *wude*, *cude*, and proba-
 bly (: cf. *swuster* Ru.¹, § 392) *suster*, derive from regular ONhb
 and OMerc. *wu*- < *wiu* < *wi*- + u-umlaut [*sutell* in
 O is probably an OWS form; cf. above § 60 and below § 398
 f.]. On the other hand the *wi*- and *wy*-forms of *wike*, *Wire*-
chestre, *swike* s., *swike* adj., *swikel* adj., *swiken* pl. pt., *twiȝe*(s),
cwīc correspond to regular OAngl. ī-forms (with »smoothing»),
 and the *wi*- & *wy*-forms of *widewe* also represent regular
 OAngl. wī- (: the only form in the ONhb texts and in
 the OMerc. VPs. and Ru.¹, cf. § 391 f.). The Northern *wi*-
 & *wy*-forms of *witen* v. probably contain analogical ī <
 pres. opt., etc. (though analogical *wi*-forms of this word
 are very rare in ONhb, cf. § 391), as ONhb *wio*-forms of this
 word do not occur (cf. § 391). The Northern *wi*-forms of
swiper (DĒn.) may represent ONhb i o- or -i (cf. the

forms in Li., Ru.², § 391); on the other hand the Midl. *swyþyr* (PP), *wylke* (PP), *wite* s. (O), and the usual Midl. *wi-* & *wy-*forms of *witen* inf. etc., seem to imply OMerc. *wī-*, since *ī* was early changed into *ē* o in the OMerc. dialect (: BÜLBR. E1. § 237).

sister, *syster*, etc. is the OScand. *syster*; cf. BJÖRKMAN pp. 117, 177.

For *wuke*, *woke*, etc., see § 290. For *e*-forms and *ey-*, *ai*-forms, see § 288 f.

284 c. The London texts have *(w)u-*, *(w)o-* (& *woo-*) in *wude*, *suster*, *wirke*; *wow-* in *wike* (: Ch.); *we-* in *widewe*, *witen* v., *wike*; and *(w)i-*, *(w)y-* in *widewe*, *suster* (: LCh.), *witen* v., *wike*, *wirechestre*, *twize(s)*, *cwic*. — These cases do not contain any clearly Southern (: SW or Kent.) forms; but on the other hand none of them can be said to be quite alien to the South, except perhaps the Scand. *sister* (: LCh.). — The form *soster* Ch., if it really has *ō* as indicated by the rime (: *pater noster*), must derive from OE *s w ō* - < *s w ē* o - (< *s w ē* -), and in this case belongs to B 5. — For *we*-forms see below § 288 f.

285 e. The »Saxon-Mercian» texts have only *(w)u-* in *wude*, *suster*, *sutel*; only *wi-* in *widewe*, *witen* pl. pt., *wike*, *swikel*, *swike* adj., *twize(s)*, *cwic*; *wi-~wu-* in *witen* inf. etc. (: AR; the *wu*-form may also belong to C 1, cf. *wuste* AR); and *wi-~weo-* in *wite* s., *swike* s. (for *swepe* Tit. see § 289). — The *(w)u*-forms may derive either from OMerc. or from OWS *wī* - < *wīu* (*sutel* etc. should however perhaps be regarded as going back to OWS, not to OMerc., cf. § 398 f.); and the *wi*-forms either from OMerc. or from OWS *wī* -, which may be original (i. e. non-umlauted) or analogical, or — in OMerc. — due to »smoothing». — The *eo*-forms represent OE *ē* o (cf. § 149), *sweoke* Tit. probably an OWS, not an OMerc. form (cf. § 399).

f. The SW *(w)u-* and *(w)o-*forms of *wude*, *suster*, *sutel*, 286 *uten*, **tuwe*, *wike*, *Wirechestre*, and if really belonging here and not to C I (: cf. *wuste* etc. ON, RGl.) the *w(u)-*forms of *witen* v. in ON, RGl., evidently derive from regular OWS *w ũ -* < *w ũ u -*. — On the other hand the *wi-* and *wy-*forms of *widewe*, *ȝe-dwimor*, *hwiðe*, *wite* s., *witen* v., *witien* v., *Wirechestre*, *swike* s., *swike* adj., *swikel*, *twiȝes*, *cwic* probably all spring from late OWS regular or analogical *w ĭ -* (cf. § 397). — For *we-*forms see § 288.

g. The Kent. *wo-* and *(w)u-*forms of *wude*, *widewe*, *uten*, 287 *wike*, the *u-*form (in PM(D)), and (: if it has *ũ*) also the *o-*form of *suster* (in Ay., Sho.), derive from OKent. *w ũ -* < *w ũ u -* (cf. § 396); the *wi-* and *wy-*forms of *witen* (: as to *weten* etc., see § 288), *witien*, *swikel*, *twiȝe(s)*, *cwic* probably from OKent. *w ĭ -*, since the OKent. diphthong < earlier *ĭ u* and *ĕ u* (BÜLBR. El. § 238) practically never appears as *-i-*, *-y-* in ME (: KONRATH Archiv 88, 161).

VV has no forms differing from those in the pure Kent. texts, except *swuster* (~ *su-*); but this is probably also a pure Kent. form, cf. *zuolh* in Ay. (§ 236).

Special cases.

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we- (and *-ei-*, *-ai-*)forms of *swepe* [cf. § 280], and of *widewe*, *swiper*, *witen* v., *witien* v., *wike*, *cwicken* v. [: a) DĒn., CM (CE); b) NG, Bok.; c) LCh.; d) Prose Ps.; f) RGl., Winch.; g) Sho.].

Apart from *swepe* (cf. below), the *we-*cases occur only in late MSS. (14th century down), and consequently the ME change of *ĭ* > *ĕ* in open syllables (cf. LUICK U. & St.) comes into consideration here. This change is no doubt the cause of the *we-*forms in DĒn. and CM (incl. the *wei-*

form of *witen* in CM (C)) (cf. LUICK, St. pp. 9, 16 ff.); and the same explanation may be applied to these *we*-forms in NG, Bok., LCh., Winch. [: cf. §§ 78, 100, 117, 214, and further LUICK, Archiv 102,73, St. p. 201, BJÖRKMAN p. 60]. An OE *w e o* - > *w e*- seems however more probable in the case of the *we*-forms in Prose Ps. and Sho. (cf. §§ 138, 243) and, perhaps, RGl.

- 289 As to *sweþe* s., the *we*-forms in CM (C) and Ps. can be derived from *wī*- (cf. above), and those in O and Tit. perhaps from OE *w e o*- (since both O and Tit. have *-e*- ~ *-eo*- for OE *ē o*). But the *-ey*-form in PP and the *-ai*-form in CM(E) (cf. HÖRNING CM(E) p. 35) clearly point to the OWScand. *sveipr*, though the sense of this word is somewhat different (cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 59 f.); and it is quite possible that the *-e*-forms quoted above derive from the OEScand. form of the word (with $\bar{e} < ei$, cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 60).

- 290 Northern and Midl. *wuke*, *woke*, etc.

As the ONhb and OMerc. texts have only *wi*- in this word (cf. § 391 f.), it seems evident that the Northern and Midl. ME forms with *wu*- etc. have the vowel of the O Scand. form *uka* (cf. WRIGHT, EDD). If, as seems probable, the initial *w* had been completely dropped in OScand. before the time of the invasion (cf. NOREEN, Altisl. Gr. § 227, 1; BJÖRKMAN p. 177), the ME *w*-form must be due to the influence of the native *wi*-form. — The *ow*-form in BB (cf. for similar forms, without *w*, in other Sc. texts, HEUSER E. St. 27,382, 388, LUICK St. pp. 82, 96, 103, 112, U. §§ 476, 478, 487) may derive directly from the Scand. *u*-form; especially if, as stated by MARIK § 128, *w*- was not dropped in ME Sc. before the vowel representing OE *ū* in open syllables.

wurðen etc. v. (cf. B 2, above § 258).

a) inf., imp., pres. opt., pl. & 1 sg. pres. ind.

wor- a) BB (incl. *-it* pt.), DĒn., CM (CE) (incl. *-id* pt.; & r.: *forth*), Ps., RRPr. (CH) — d) Gaw. — f) OEĤ (1 case; ~ *wur-*), RGl. — g) Ay., Sho.

wur- a) NLeg. (incl. *-ed* pt. & pp.) — b) O, B, GE — e) PM(I), KGr., AR, Tit. — f) WFr., OEĤ (~ 1 *wor-*), ON (~ *wr-*) — g) VV, PM (D).

wr- f) ON (~ *wur-*).

β) 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind.

wor- a) BB (*-is*), DĒn. (*-is*), CM(E) (*-rþe*) — d) Gaw. (*-rþes*) — f) ON (*-rd*; ~ *wur-*, *wr-*) — g) VV (*-rð*; ~ *wur-*), Ay. (*-rst*, *-rþ*), Sho. (*-rþ*, *-rþe*, *-rþeþþ*, & r.: *forþe*; cf. *wer-*, B 2).

wur- b) O (*-rrþ*, *-rrþeþþ*), B (*-es*, *-eð*), GE (*-rð*, *-rðe*) — e) AR (*-rðeð*, *-rð*), Tit. (*-est*, *-eð*) — f) OEĤ (*-rðest*, *-rð*), ON (*-rð*; ~ *wor-*, *wr-*), RGl. (*-rst*, *-rþ*) — g) VV (*-rð*; ~ *wor-*), PM (D) (*-rð*).

wr- f) ON (*-rþ*; ~ *wor-*, *wur-*).

wurð, *-e* s. & adj., etc. (cf. B 2, above § 258).

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a) (*-wurð* s. & adj., *-e* s. & adj., *-y* etc. adj., *-(i)ly*, *-like* adv., *-liche* adj. & adv., *-(i)nesse* s., *-inges* s. »reverence», *-mint* etc. s., *-ful* adj., *-fulhed* s.; *-ien* etc. v.

wor- a) Sc. Ch. (~ *wr-*), BB, DĒn. (~ *wour-*), NLeg. (~ *wur-*), CM(CE), Ps., RRPr. (CH) — b) Man., NG (~ *wur-*), GE (1 case; ~ *wur-*) — c) Procl., Ch., LCh. (~ *wur-*) — d) Gaw., Prose Ps., Myrc — e) Tit. (1 case; ~ *wur-*) — f) RGl. (~ *wur-*, *wr-*), Winch. — g) VV (~ *wur-*), Ay., Sho. (& r.: *forþe* (?), see § 244) & : *erþe*, *ferþe*; cf. *wer-*, B 2).

wour- a) DĒn. (1 case; ~ *wor-*).

wur- a) NLeg. (~ *wor-*) — b) O, NG (~ *wor-*), PP, B, GE (~ 1 *wor-*), Bok. (cf. § 98) — c) LCh. (~ *wor-*) — e) KGr.,

AR, Tit. (~ 1 *wor-*) — f) WFr., OEH (cf. § 193), ON (~ *wr-*), RGl. (~ *wor-*, *wr-*) — g) VV (~ *wor-*).

wr- a) Sc. Ch. (1 case; ~ *wor-*) — f) ON (~ *wur-*), RGl. (1 case; ~ *wor-*, *wur-*).

Cf. *war-* (in *stalward*, *-rð*) : a) BB (*-rd*), DEn. (*-rt*) — e) KGr. (*-rd*; ~ *-urð*), AR (*-rd*) — f) RGl. (*-rþ*, *-rd*; ~ *-orþ*, *-ordre*).

þ) *wurðschipe* etc. s., *-ipen* etc. v., *-ipful* adj., etc.

wor- a) Sc.Ch., BB, DEn. (cf. *wir-*), CM(CE) (cf. *wir-*), Ps., RRPr. (CH; cf. *wir-*) — b) Man. (cf. *wyr-*), NG (~ *wur-*, *wour-*, *wr-*; cf. *wyr-*), PP, Bok. (~ *wur-*; cf. *wyr-*) — c) Ch., LCh. (~ *wur-*) — d) Gaw., Prose Ps., Myrc — g) Ay., Sho.

wour- b) NG (1 case; ~ *wor-*, *wur-*, *wr-*; cf. *wyr-*).

wur- b) Chr., O, NG (~ *wor-*, *wour-*, *wr-*; cf. *wyr-*), GE, Bok. (~ *wor-*; cf. *wyr-*) — c) LCh. (~ *wor-*) — e) KGr., AR., Tit. — f) OEH, ON (~ *wr-*) — g) VV.

wr- b) NG (~ *wor-*, *wour-*, *wur-*; cf. *wyr-*) — f) ON.

γ) (?) *wurðinge* s. »mire, dung».

wur- e) KGr., Tit. — f) OEH.

ð) *-wurð* (in place-names), *wordi* s. »prædium», *wursted* s. (cf. § 9, foot-note).

(-) *wor-* a) Sc.Ch. (~ *-or-*), BB — b) NG — c) Ch. — f) WFr.

-*or-* a) Sc.Ch. (1 case; ~ *-wor-*)

(-) *wur-* c) LCh. — f) RGl.

Cf. *-ward*, *-rd* : a) Sc.Ch. (*-rð*), BB (*-rd*).

293 *sweord* s.

-*wor-* a) BB (& r.: *word*; ~ *-wer-*), DEn. (& r.: *wordis* s. pl., *gurd* s. v.; ~ *-wer-*), CM (CE) (& r.: *word* s., *ord* s.; ~ *-wer-*) — d) Gaw. — e) Tit. (~ *-weor-*) — f) OEH, ON — g) Ay.

-*weor-* e) KGr., AR, Tit. (~ *-wor-*) — g) VV.

-*wer-* a) BB (~ *-wor-*), DEn. (& r.: *erd* s., *rerð* s.; ~ *-wor-*), NLeg., CM (CE) (& C r.: *word*; ~ *-wor-*), Ps., RRPr. (H) — b) O, Man. (& r.: *ferd* pt.), PP, GE (& r.: *offerð* pp.), Bok.

(& r.: *ferd* pt.) — c) Ch. (& r.: *berd* s., *herd* pp.) — d) Prose Ps., Myrc — f) WFr. (cf. § 187), RGl. — g) Sho.

weorpen v. (present-stem forms).

wer- a) DEn. (cf. *war-*), CM (CE), Ps. — b) O (~? *weor-*), B, GE — d) [? Prose Ps. (-*ed* pp.); cf. § 139] — f) OEH (~ *wor-*; cf. *war-*) — g) VV (~ *wor-*, *wur-*).

weor- b) (?) O (? 1 case, cf. § 62; ~ *wer-*) — e) AR (~ *wor-*).

wor- e) AR (~ *weor-*) — f) WFr., OEH (~ *wer-*; cf. *war-*), ON — g) VV (~ *wer-*, *wur-*).

wur- e) Tit (cf. *war-*) — g) VV (~ *wer-*, *wor-*).

Cf. *warþ* etc. v. »throw» (weak) a) BB, DEn. (cf. *wer-*); *warþ(en)* etc. v. »throw» (strong) d) Gaw. — e) KGr., Tit. (cf. *wur-*) — f) OEH (cf. *wer-*, *wor-*). Cf. also *warþyn* v. »make wronge», »wex wronge» PP.

cwerne s.

-*wer-* a) DEn. — b) PP — c) Ch (& r.: *werne* inf.) — g) Ay.

-*weor-* f) WFr.

werve s. »horse».

werue f) OEH.

swerven v.

swerued pt. b) Man.

[For *swerf* pt. e) Tit., see § 179].

weorc s.

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wer- a) Sc.Ch., DEn. (& r.: *merk* s.; ~ *war-*, *wor-*), NLeg. (& r.: *clerk* s., *merk* s., *serk* s.), CM(CE) (& r.: *clerk*, *merk* s., *serk* s.; ~ C *war-*), Ps. (& r.: *clerk* s., *merke* adj.), RRPr. (& r.: *clerk*, *merk* s.) — b) O (~ *weor-*), Man. (& r.: *clerk* s., *herk* v.), NG, PP, B, GE, Bok. (& r.: *clerk*, *merk* s., cf. § 101) — c) Ch. (& r.: *clerk* etc.), LCh. (~ *war-*) — d) Gaw., Prose Ps. (~ *wor-*), Myrc (& r.: *clerk*) — e) PM(L) (& -*rch*), KGr. (~ *wur-*), AR, Tit. — f) WFr. (~ *weor-*), OEH (~ *weor-*, *wor-*),

Winch. (~ *wor-*) — g) VV (~ *weor-*, *woer-*, *wor-*, *wor-*), PM(D) (~ *wor-*), KS, Sho. (& r.: *clerk* s., *derk* adj.; ~ *wor-*).

war- a) DEn. (& r.: *bark* s.; ~ *wer*, *wor-*), CM (C) (~ *wer-*) — c) LCh. (~ *wer-*).

weor- b) Chr., O (~ *wer-*) — f) WFr. (~ *wer-*), OEH (~ *wer-*, *wor-*) — g) VV (~ *wer-*, *woer-*, *wor-*, *wor-*).

woer- g) VV (~ *wer-*, *weor-*, *wor-*, *wor-*).

wor- g) VV (~ *wer-*, *weor-*, *woer-*, *wor-*).

wor- a) DEn. (~ *wer-*, *war-*) — d) Prose Ps. (~ *wer-*) — f) OEH (~ *wer-*, *weor-*), RGl., Winch. (~ *wer-*) — g) VV (~ *wer-*, *weor-*, *woer-*, *wor-*), PM(D) (~ *wer-*), Ay., Sho. (& r.: *clerke*; ~ *wer-*).

wur- e) KGr. (1 case; ~ *wer-*).

Here belong further the following *v e r b a l* forms, which seem to have the vowel of the *s u b s t.* (cf. *wurthen* v. C3):

werk(-) a) CM (C) — b) PP, B, GE (~ *werch-*), Bok. — c) Ch. — g) Sho. (~ *work-*).

werch- b) GE (~ *werk*) — f) Winch. (~ *work*).

work(-) f) RGl., Winch. (~ *werch-*) — g) Ay., Sho. (~ *werk*).

dwer 3 s.

dwerowe b) PP — *dwæruh* f) WFr.

295 For *sweore* »neck» (cf. *swire* B 2), see § 313 f.

For *we(o)rre*, *-(i)en* s. & v. »war», see §§ 352, 357.

296 Cf. the following words, which do not appear in OE:

(?) *hworvel* s. (cf. SKEAT, Et. Dict.) »whorl».

whorlwyl b) PP (»vertebrum»).

cwerkin v.

querkyn b) PP.

þwert adv., etc.

- wer-* a) NLeg., CM(C) (& r.: *stert* pt., *hert* s.; ~-*war-*), RRP. (H) — b) O (~-*weor-*), Man. (& r.: *herte* etc.), [PP], GE, Bok. (& r.: *herte*) — d) Gaw. — e) KGr., AR (~-*war-*).
 -*weor-* b) O (~-*wer-*).
 -*war-* a) CM (C) (~-*wer-*) — c) Ch. — e) AR (~-*wer-*).
 -(*w*)*or-* a) BB (-*wor-*), DEn. (-(*w*)*or-*).

qwert s. & adj.

- wer-* a) NLeg. (& r.: *gert* pt.), CM (CE) (& r.: *hert*; cf. -*war-*, § 40), Ps. (& r.: *herte* s., *ert* 2 sg. »art«), RRP. (& r.: *hert*) — b) Man. (& r.: *hert*, *þwert*), PP.

For *werre* comp. & v. (and *werse* comp., *werst* sup.), see B2.

a. The Northern texts have (*w*)*or-* (& -*wr-* Sc. Ch., 297 *wour-* DEn., *wur-* NLeg.) in *wurðen* v., *wurð*, -*e* s. & adj. (etc.), *sweord*, *weorc* s. (: DEn.), *þwert*; *wer-* in *sweord*, *weorpen*, *cwerne*, *weorc* s. (& v.), *þwert*, *qwert*; and *war-* in *stalwurð(e)*, -*wurð* (in place-names), *weorpen*, *weorc* s., *þwert*.

The ONhb *wor-* < w ĕ o r - is no doubt continued in the *wor-*forms of *sweord* and — as far as they really belong here, cf. § 9, foot-note, and § 268 ff. — of *wurðen* etc. v., *wurð*, -*e* s. & adj. (etc.); the orthography of the texts is not conclusive, however, as *wo-* appears for OE *w ŭ* as well as for OE *w ǒ*-. The *wour-* & *wur-* (& *wr-*)forms, in DEn., NLeg. (and Sc. Ch.), of *wurðen* etc. v., *wurð* etc. (adj. & adv.), as far as they really belong here (cf. § 9, foot-note, and § 268 ff.), are on a par with the *wour-* & *wur-*forms of *word* s. in the same texts (: probably < ONhb w ō r -, cf. § 373).—As there are practically no *weor-*forms of words of this group in late ONhb—I have noticed only *weorðas* and *weorðias* 3 sg. pres. ind., in Ru.² (one case of each); cf. also the isolated *wearða*

sg. imp., *cwearne* s. (? cf. § 310) in the same text—the *-er*-forms of *sweord* and *weorpen* (for *warþ* etc. cf. below) can hardly represent native ONhb forms. As to the former word, it should be noticed that it is rimed only with *-or-* (: *word*, *ord*) in the early Northern texts (BB, CM), and only in the late DEn. with *-er-* (: *erd*, *verd*) ~ *-or-*; and that *sweord* is either the only or by far the more common form in all our MSS. (: 14th century down). These facts seem to indicate that this latter form, probably an encroachment of the Midland dialect, gradually superseded the native Nhb *sword*, at least in the literary language, in the course of the 14th century; except in the extreme North (: BB, DEn.), where the old form was still used (as a variant) after the end of the ME period (: DEn.). — The *wer*-forms of *weorpan* in DEn. (if not < wǣr-, cf. § 27), CM, Ps. could also perhaps be regarded as Midland loans; but they are more convincingly explained as Scand. forms (cf. the Midland *wer*-forms, below). The total absence of the native Nhb *wor*-form seems in fact to require a cause operating at an earlier date than the Midland influence, as exemplified in *sweord* ~ *sword*.

The *wer*- and *war*-forms of *weorc* s. (& v.) regularly represent the ONhb *werc* (& *woerc*) s., with »smoothing». The variant *work* s. (cf. *workand* pres. p. § 361) in DEn. is evidently a loan from the 16th century literary language of England.

For *þwert*, *qwert* see § 308 f.; for *cwerne* see § 310; for *war*-forms of *weorpen* see § 311; and for *-ward* etc., § 312.

- 298 b. The EMidl. texts have *wor-*, *wur-* (& *wr-*, *wour-* : NG) in *wurðen* v., *wurð*, *-e* s. & adj. (etc.), *hworvel*; *weor-* in (?) *weorpen* (: O), *weorc* s. (: Chr., O), *þwert* (: O); *wer-* in *sweord*, *weorpen*, *cwerne* (: PP), *swerven*, *weorc* s. (& v.), *dwerȝ* s., *cwerkin* v., *þwert*, *qwert*; and *war-* in *weorpen* (: PP).

The *wur-* and *wor*-forms of *wurðen* v., *wurð* s. & adj. (etc.)

(as far as they really belong here, cf. § 9, foot-note, and § 268 ff.) and, if it belongs here, *hworvel* s., evidently derive from a w-monophthongized form of the OMerc. *wǣor-*. The original monophthong was probably in the whole of the EMidl. territory an u-vowel, as it is proved by the orthography in Chr., O, B to have been in the dialects represented by these texts; the orthography of the other EMidl. texts is not conclusive on this point (for the isolated *wor*-form in GE, cf. § 93). — As there are no certain instances of this monophthongization in OMerc. texts — *worþadun* pl. pt. (1) in Ru.¹ is probably not a native Merc. form; for OMerc. *worð*, *worðig* »platea», see § 9, foot-note — the process cannot have taken place till the very close of the OE period. This date presents in fact nothing remarkable, as the same change *wǣor-* > *wūr-* in OWS appears only in texts of the latest OE period.

The EMidl. *-er*-form of *sweord* corresponds to an OMerc. 299 *swēord* (with *ēo* < *ǣo* / *rd*), which no doubt was the regular OMerc. form. The absence of *-eor*-forms in O does not prove Scand. influence in this word, because it is used only three times in the part of the work where variants with *-eo-* for OE *e o* are common (cf. above § 64, and references given there). But we cannot absolutely deny the possibility that the vowel of the Scand. *sverð(r)* (< *sw-*) may be at the bottom of the form *sweord* in O, and perhaps in other Midland and Northern texts as well.

The question whether the Merc. monophthongization of 300 *ǣo* after *w* was universal, as it seems to have been in Nhb, or whether the old *wǣor-* was also kept as a variant and later developed > EMidl. *wǣr-* (perhaps through *wör-*), cannot be decided with certainty on the basis of my material; but it may be asserted that the extant EMidl. forms do not necessarily presuppose the latter alternative. As in the case of *sweord*, an OE form with long diphthong may be the

basis of the EMidl. *cwerne*, if it really derives from prim. OMerc. *ǣ* (cf. § 310); the *wer-* (and *war-*) forms of *weorc* s. (and to some extent the corresponding verb, cf. § 294), *dwerȝ*, and — if they do not have the Scand. vowel — *þwert*, *cwerkin* (cf. § 308 f.) derive from OMerc. *wer*-forms (with »smoothing»); *qwert* is probably a Scand. word (cf. § 308 f.), and the isolated case of *swerved* pt. in Man. may be a Southern form (cf. § 68) or a Scand. or continental loan. The *wer*-forms of *weorpen* may derive from the Scand. *verpa* (< *w e r -*): such an origin of the form is directly indicated by the fact that Orm constantly (or with one exception, cf. § 62), and in numerous cases, uses the spelling *-werr-*, while OE *e o*-words of frequent occurrence in O generally have variants with *-eo-* (cf. above § 64); and in the same direction points the phonology of the word in the Northern dialect (cf. above § 297). Finally, concerning the *weo*-forms of *weorc* s. in Chr., O, and of *þwert* adv. (cf. § 308 f.) in O, it is quite probable that they are not pure Mercian, but Southern forms, both as to their (OE) basis and their ME development, because the language of Chr. and O presents many instances of SW (< OWS) influence (cf. above §§ 55, 60); the *weo*-form of *þwert* could also be derived (in accordance with words of B 5) from a late OMerc. and early ME Midl. *þweore* (< *þweoru* etc., cf. below § 400), if *-eo-* (= *ö*) < OE *e o* was really native in the EMidl. dialect.

301 c. The London texts have *wur-*, *wor-* in *wurð*, *-e* s. & adj. (etc.); *wer-* in *sweord*, *cwerne*, *weorc* s. (& v.); and *war-* in *weorc* s., *þwert*. — None of these forms allows of a distinction between Midland and Southern origin.

d. The WMidl. texts have *wor-* in *wurðen* v., *wurð*, *-e* s. & adj. (etc.), *sweord* s. (: Gaw.), *weorc* s. (: Prose Ps.); *wer-* in *sweord*, [*? weorpen* (Prose Ps.), cf. § 139], *weorc* s., *þwert*; and *war-* in *weorpen* (: Gaw.).

The *wor*-forms of *wurðen* v., *wurð*, -e s. & adj., etc., may be explained as the corresponding EMidl. forms (: the -o- in the words of this group may stand for -u- or -o- just as in the EMidl. -o-forms); those in Gaw. and Myrc could besides be derived from WMidl. *wür* - < *weor* -, cf. above § 130 f. The form *sword* in Gaw. might also be a case of (OW Merc.) *wëor* - > *wur* -, or (OW Merc.) *wëor* - > (WMidl.) *wür* - > *wur* -. — The *wer*-forms of *sweord*, *weorc* s., and — if it does not have Scand. -er- (cf. § 308 f.) — *þwert* regularly represent OMerc. *swëord*, *werc*, *þwerh*; the scarce *wor*-variant of *weorc* in Prose Ps. has no doubt been introduced by the scribe (cf. § 137). — For the *war*-form of *weorpen* in Gaw., see § 311.

e. The »Saxon-Mercian» texts have *wor*- in *weorpen* etc. 302 (: AR), *sweord* (: Tit., 1 case), *wurð* s. (i. e. *unworð* Tit., 1 case); *wur*- in *wurðen* v., *wurð*, -e s. & adj., etc., *weorpen* v. (i. e. *wurpe* Tit., 1 case), *weorc* s. (i. e. *wurkes* s. pl., KGr., 1 case); *weor*- in *sweord*, *weorpen* (: AR); *wer*- in *weorc* etc. s., *þwert* adv. (: AR); [and *war*- in -*wurð*, *weorpen*, *þwert*, see § 308 ff.].

The numerous *worpen* etc. (in AR) evidently have *wor* -, which probably represents OE *wor* - (cf. § 172); the isolated *sword* and — if it is not a scribal error (for the usual *wur*-) — *unworð* may also stand for -eo- = -ō- < OE *weor* - (cf. § 172). — The *wur*-forms probably represent (late OE) *wur* - < *wëor* -, though it is not altogether excluded that they may to some extent represent late OE *wur* - < *wÿr* - (: for *wurðen* v., *wurð*, -e s. & adj., etc., see § 268 ff.; *wurkes* may have the vowel of *wurthen* v.; and *wurpe* may derive from an analogical OE *ÿ* < 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind., cf. (-) *wyrpe* 1 sg. pres. ind. Ru¹. (2 cases), OWS Gospels, MS. Cp (1 case), and OE *wyrðe*, -en pres. opt., § 274). — The *weor*-forms represent

OE *weor-*; and the *weor*-forms of *weorc* and, if it is not a Scand. loan, *þwert* represent OE *wer-*.

As to the dialectal provenience of these »Saxon-Mercian» forms, the *wer*-forms of *weorc* and, if not < Scand., *þwert* can only derive from O Merc. forms with »smoothing». On the other hand the OE *wor*-form presupposed by *worpen* and possibly (cf. above) by *sword*, *unword* is probably due to an OWS (not an O Merc.) development (cf. § 400 ff.); and the form *wurkes* s., if it does not derive from OE *wýr-* (cf. above), necessarily indicates a non-»smoothed», i. e. an OWS form. The remaining *wur*-forms as well as the *weor*-forms (and if they stand for *-ö-*, the forms *sword*, *unword*) may derive from OWS as well as from O Merc.

- 303 f. The SW texts have *wor-*, *wur-* (& *wr-*: ON, RGl.) in *wurðen* v., *wurð*, *-e* s. & adj. (etc.), *sweord*, *weorpen*, *weorc* s. (& v.); *weor-* in *cwerne*, *weorc* s.; *wer-* (& *wær-*: WFr.) in *sweord*, *weorpen*, *werke*, *weorc* s. (& v.), *dwerz*; [and *war-* in *stalwurð(e)* (:RGl.), *weorpen* (:OEH); see §§ 311, 312].

As regards the forms of these texts, we have to start from the three OWS variants *wor-*, *wur-*, and *weor-* (cf. below § 401), each of which seems to have been the starting-point for ME forms. Of OWS *wor-* there is however no other certain representative than the *wor*-form of *wordiȝ* s. in WFr. (if it belongs here, cf. § 9, foot-note); yet cf. the *wor*-forms in VV, § 307. The *wor*-forms in RGl. and Winch. and perhaps ON — especially in the case of exceptional *wor*-forms such as *word* 3 sg. pres. ind. (cf. § 202; cf. further § 205, and GADOW ON § 49) — may also stand for OWS *wur-*; and those in ON may further, as also those in OEH, represent OWS *weor-* (cf. §§ 199, 205). — OWS *weor-* is the source of all the *wer-* (& *wær-*) and *weor*-forms in our SW texts, except perhaps for the *weor*-forms in OEH (: of *weorc*), which text sometimes writes *-eo-* for *-o-* (cf. §§ 196, 198).

The *weor-* and *wer-*forms of *sweord*, *cwerne* (and perhaps also the *wor-*forms of *sweord* in OEH, ON, cf. above) may derive from OWS *wēor-* (with *ēo* < *ěo* / *rd*, *rn*), but the rest of the *wer-* (& *wær-*) and *weor-*forms probably spring from late OWS *wěor-* (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 285 f.).

As regards the continuation into ME of late OWS *wur-* 304 < *wěor-*, there come into question the *wur-* (& *wr-*) forms of *wurðen* v., *wurð*, -e s. & adj. (etc.) in WFr., OEH, ON, RGl., and further — if they do not represent a basis *wor-* or, in the case of ON, earlier *wor-* or *weor-* (cf. § 205) — the *wor-*forms of *wurð*, -e s. & adj. (etc.), *weorc* in RGl., Winch., and perhaps (cf. above) ON. These cases are not quite conclusive, however, because they may all, to some extent at least, represent OWS *wŷr-* (> *wŷr*¹), which is theoretically possible as well in *weorc* s. (: on the analogy of *wurthen* v.) as in *wurðen* v. and *wurð*, -e s. & adj. (etc.) (cf. § 268 ff.). In the case of *wurðen* and *wurð*, -e (etc.), it does not seem likely however that OWS *wŷr-* should to any great extent be at the bottom of other ME forms than such as regularly go back to prim. OE *wŷr-* (cf. above §§ 273, 276).

g. The Kent. texts (except VV, see § 307) have *wor-*, *wur-* 305 in *wurðen* v., *wurð*, -e s. & adj. (etc.), *sweord*, *weorc* s. (& v.); *wer-* in *sweord*, *cwerne*, *weorc* s. (& v.).

The *wur-* and *wor-*forms of *wurðen* v., *wurð*, -e s. & adj. (etc.) (as far as they derive from prim. OE *wŷr-*, cf. § 270), *weorc*, *sweord* evidently presuppose a monophthongization of the earlier *wěor-*, a change which probably took place, as in the SW and the Midland (cf. above), towards the close of the OE period. The *wur-*forms in PM(D) (: *wurð*, -e pres. ind.) indicate *ŷ* as the resulting monophthong; and the

¹) The *wur-* (& *wr-*)forms may also stand for *wür-* = OE *wŷr-*, if such a form really existed in ME (cf. § 367).

wor-forms in Ay. and Sho. may also trace back to this vowel, since these texts regularly write *wo-* for *w ŭ* - (cf. also the rimes: *wors*, *-e* : *ŭ* , above § 265). On the other hand the absence of *wur*-forms of *weorc* in PM(D) (: *wor*- 6 cases ~ *wer*-) and the rimes *worþ*, *-e* adj. & 3 sg. pres. ind.: *forþe* adv. in Sho. seem to indicate an *o*-vowel; but none of these circumstances can be regarded as conclusive proof, because PM(D) often has *wo-* for *w ŭ* (cf. § 226), and the correctness of Sho.'s rimes is not above suspicion (cf. the rime *worm*: *storm* § 368). — This matter cannot be decided on the basis of my material (cf. also KONRATH, Archiv 88, 163 f.); for the present it can only be said that beside the Kent. monophthong *u* < *w ě o r*- there may have existed a Kent. *o* < *w ě o r*- at least in some words of this group [: the »Merc.-Kent.» *tomewordig* (of A. D. 808; see § 9, foot-note) does not come into consideration here.

306 The Kent. *wer*-forms of *weorc* seem to imply an alternative Kent. development of *w ě o r*- > *w ě r*-, since there is no reason to suppose an OKent. *werc* due to »smoothing», nor, as the cases are very numerous, an encroachment of the vowel of the verb (cf. C 3). The same development may appear in the form *swerde* in Sho. (: cf. *zuord* Ay., which form necessarily presupposes a short diphthong); but an OKent. *- ē o* - < *ě o* / *rd* is an equally plausible basis of this form (cf. KONRATH, Archiv 88, 166 ff.). — However, as our most reliable Kent. text, the East Kent. Ay., has only *wor*-forms (for *cwerne* see § 310), it is possible that the change *w ě o r* - > *w ě r* - took place only in the Western part of the Kent. dialect territory, where a late OKent. *w ě o r* - may have been kept through OWS influence.

307 VV differs from the pure Kent. texts in presenting forms which denote an *ö*-vowel: *sweord*, *weorc* s., *woerkes*, *workes* s. pl.; perhaps also (if standing for *wor*-, cf. § 217) *workes*. It cannot be decided whether these are (early) Kent. forms

or loans from the SW dialect. — The *wor*-forms of *wurðen* v., *wurð*, -e s. & adj. (etc.), *weorpen* v., and if it does not stand for *wor*- (cf. above), *workes* s. pl., probably represent earlier *wor*- (hardly *wur*- . cf. §§ 217, 222); but these may be SW (< OWS) forms and prove nothing about the Kent. dialect.

Special cases.

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cwerkin, *qwert*, *þwert* (cf. § 295).

cwerkin v. and *qwert* etc. s. & adj. are probably of Scand. origin (cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 248); and the forms in all our texts represent the regular development of originally Scand. *wer*-. — The same would be the case of (-)þwert etc. but for the -eo-form in O (and the -o- and -a-forms, see below). The frequent -eo- in O must, it seems, be derived from an OE *e o*, either due to »analogical breaking» of the Scand. þwert (< þw-) (cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 292, foot-note) or to OE þweorh being the basis on which the ME form in question was made, on the analogy of the Scand. form (cf. BÜLBRING, Bo. Btr XVII p. 65). The latter explanation is of course fully acceptable in the case of Orm, in whose language the Anglian »smoothing» does not appear consistently (cf. § 300); besides there might have existed an OMerc. þweorh due to the influence of the inflected forms þweoru etc. (cf. VPs., below § 400). The former theory could possibly be made to account for the Northern (Sc.) -o-forms, as the analogy of *sword*, *wordē* v., *word*, -e s. & adj. (etc.) might here have caused an OE form *þwort; but the Northern (Sc.) -o-forms of (-)þwert etc. are no doubt due to a weak-stress development — weak stress being directly indicated by the fall of -w- in DEñ. — of

an original variant with *war-* (< Scand.; cf. NOREEN, Altschwed. Gr. § 117 anm.). Such an original form is necessarily presupposed by the *-war-* form in AR, which text (cf. OSTERMANN AR § 17) does not know the change *ǣr* > *ǣr* (: for *warpen*, *stalward*, see below § 311 f.); probably also by the *-war-* form in Ch. (I have found only *-war-* forms; cf. also FRIESHAMMER Ch. p. 8), whose forms *warien* v., *harwede* pt. (TEN BRINK Ch. § 48, V; FRIESHAMMER gives no cases) no doubt have the vowel of the substantives OE *wearg*, ME *harwe*. The *-war-* forms in CM (C) on the other hand may also spring from an original *-wǣr-*.

- 309 As to the *-wer-* forms, we have the choice between an unaltered Scand. form and a formation on the basis of OE *þwerh* (with »smoothing»); because all the texts where I have found these *-wer-* forms¹), except perhaps O, cf. above, are based on OE dialects in which this would have been the regular form. The theory of an »analogical breaking» is of course not applicable to the *-wer-* forms in KGr. and AR, where an OE **þweort*, formed analogically after the time of the »smoothing», would have given *-weo-*, *-wo-*, or *-wu-* (cf. §§ 149, 302), but not the actually occurring *-we-*.

- 310 *cwerne* s. (cf. § 293).

The OE forms of this word evidently spring from two different sources: OMerc. and OWS *cweorn(e)* derive from prim. OE **cweren-*; and on the other hand ONhb *c(o)ern*, *cwern* Li., Ru². (~ *cwearne* Ru.²; miswritten for *-wer-*, or < prim. OE **cwarn-*?) and late WS *cwyrne*, *cwyrn-stan* (OWS Gospels, MS. Cp, Mt 18/6, 24/41) presuppose a prim. OE **cwarn-* > **cwearn-* + i-umlaut (cf. NED »OE . . . *cwiern*»;

¹) STRATM.-BRADLEY gives also *þvertut* Hom. II 123. I do not know if this text observes the Anglian »smoothing», but it occasionally writes *-e-* for OE *e o* < *ē* + breaking : e. g. *sterre* »star» p. 161, *herte* »heart» p. 163.

NOREEN, Urg. Lautl. p. 49, Altschw. Gr. § 117 anm.).¹⁾ — OE *cweorn(e)* (probably with $\bar{e} o < \check{e} o / r n$) is the basis of the *-eo*-form in WFr. (cf. § 303); while the other prim. OE variant probably appears in the *-e*-forms in DĒn. (< ONhb -er-) and Ay. (: which has only *-wo-* for OE *w eo < w ě + breaking / r + cons.*). The *-er*-forms in PP and Ch. are ambiguous (cf. *swerd* PP, Ch.; *wernen* etc. Ch.); as however only the *-eo*-form is found in OMerc. texts, at least the case in PP is perhaps most plausibly derived from this form.

warþ(en) etc. v. (cf. § 293).

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The Scand. weak verb *varþa* (< w a r -) (cf. BJÖRKMAN p. 257) is probably the source of the *war*-forms in PP (=»warp»), and perhaps of the *war*-forms in BB, DĒn., Gaw. (=»throw»); the weak conjugation in BB and DĒn. can of course not be adduced in proof (: cf. e. g. the weak pt. & pp. of *wurðen* v. »become» in BB, NLeg., CM, etc.). In BB and DĒn. — but not in PP, where the place of the form indicates an original -a- — the *war*-forms may also have been developed from the (perhaps Scand., cf. § 297) variant with *w er* - (: cf. *war* comp., *world* s. in BB and DĒn., further *warris* v., *wark* s. in DĒn.). — Finally the ME *war*-form may also derive from an OE *warþen* (< *worþan*, cf. MORSEB. Gr. p. 156; cf. also (?) the isolated *towearþan* Mt 5/17 in MS. A of the OWS Gospels). This seems to be the only way of accounting for the strong *war*-form in Gaw. (: pt. *warþ*), KGr. and Tit. (: pt. *we(o)rþ*, pp. *warþen*) and OEH (: pp. *warþen*), in which

¹⁾ I cannot accept BULBRING's opinion (El. § 268 Anm. 1) that late OWS *cwyrn(e)* has *-wyr-* = *-w ū r -*. The *wyr*-forms recorded by TRILSBACH § 85 Anm. (to which might be added *wyrþe* 1 sg. pres. ind. MS. Cp, J 6/37) all have regular or analogical *w ŷ r -*: for *cwyrn(e)* see above; *gewyrð* 3 sg. pres. ind., *deorwyrðum* adj., *þancwyrðlice* adv. derive from prim OE *w ĭ r -* (cf. § 268 ff.), as well as *þwyrre* (< **þwīrhjan*, see § 265 foot-note); and *wyrþe* has the vowel of the 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. (cf. e. g. § 302).

texts -ar- < ǣ r does not occur. [Cf. *warpen* pp. in e) KGr., Tit., f) OEH; *wraht*, -e etc. pp. & pt. in e) KGr., Tit. f) OEH, ON; *wald*, -e, -en pt. & pp. in all texts a), and in e) PM (L), KGr., Tit. f) OEH, g) VV; which also derive from OE *wa(r)*-forms (cf. MORSE. Gr. 1. c. and references given there)].

312 *stalward* etc. adj.; -*ward*, -*rd* (in place-names) [cf. § 292].

stalward, -*rt* is no doubt due to the substitution of the very common suffix -*ward* (generally written -*rt* in DĒn.) for the original *-*weorþ* etc. (in OE texts only the *umlaute*d form seems to be actually found in this word) after the original sense of the second member of the compound had ceased to be felt (: as it was certainly felt in such words as ME *derewurð*, *unwurð*, etc.); and the variant -*ward* in RG1. may be due to a contamination of the two forms (cf. however also the variant -*wordr*- ~ -*worþe* in RG1.). The phonetic basis on which this change of suffix originally took place was probably a weak-stressed form of -*ward* (with an indistinctly articulated vowel, perhaps also slightly rounded by the influence of *w* -), actually appearing in the OE variant -*word*, which is frequent in ONhb texts and in VPs. I have not found any certain cases of such a form in the ME texts; but a weak-stressed form with an indistinctly pronounced vowel naturally existed also in ME in the spoken language.

The suffix -*ward*, -*ward* in place-names in BB and LCh. may be explained in exactly the same way as *stalward* etc.; cf. besides *Iedward* BB, which may be due to a contamination of -*worþ* and -*ward*, unless it represents the (otherwise not recorded) ME weak-stressed form of the latter suffix. [Cf. also *banwart* DĒn., § 363].

313 *sweore* s. »neck» (< **swerhan* : KLUGE, PBB XI 558; ~ **swirhjan*, cf. *swire* above § 266).

swai- a) DĒn. (& r. : *euirmair*; cf. *swire*).

swe-, *zue-* f) RGl. (& r.: *dere* adj. »dear») — g) Ay.

swie-, (-ye-) b) Man. (HS) (r.: *chayre* »chair», for *chayere*, cf. § 72) — g) PM (D) (r.: *diere* »deer»).

sweo- e) AR (cf. *swire*) — f) WFr., OEH.

swo- e) PM(L) (r.: *dore* »deer») — f) ON (& r.: *dore* »deer»).

The regular OAngl. form would be *sweora* (cf. below § 400), 314 but the form does not seem to have existed in this dialect; at least there are no cases in Ri., Li., Ru.², VPs., Ru.¹ (: only *swira*, cf. above § 266). — From early OWS COSIJN records the regular (cf. below § 401) *sweore*, -*an* (4 cases), beside *swioran* (1 case), which may be simply a spelling for *sweo-* (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 143); and as regards late OWS, *sweoran* (3 cases) is the only form found in MS. A of the Gospels (: MS. Cp *swy-*, *swu-*, cf. above § 266). In OKent. texts I have not found the word; the regular form would be *sweora* (cf. § 401).

On account of the absence of the form in ONhb and O Merc. texts it seems questionable whether the forms *swair* in DEN. (: with -*ai-* for $\bar{e}$; cf. MÜTSCHMANN § 108) and *swyer* (: *chayere* s., cf. above § 72) in Man. (HS) should be regarded as native forms and not rather as borrowed (for the sake of the rime) from works written in the SW or Kent. dialects. — The »Saxon-Mercian», the SW, and (as far as they belong here, cf. below) the Kent. forms probably all derive from the regular OWS & OKent. *sweora*.

As to the vowel quantity of the (late) OE prototypes of the ME forms, a short vowel ($\bar{e} > \bar{e}$) is presupposed by *swair* in DEN. (cf. above), and a long vowel probably presupposed by the -*ie*-form in PM (D) (cf. KONRATH, Archiv 88,159). On the other hand, the ME *we-* and the ME *weo-* & *wo-* forms give no clue as to the quantity of the vowel in OE. Nor are the rimes to such forms of any use in the matter : it is true that the rime-words *dore* »deer» in PM (L) and ON, and *dere* »dear» in RGl, imply respectively *swö-*,

s w ē- in these texts; but the ē-form in PM(L) and ON may be due to ME lengthening (in open syllables) of ǝ (< ǝo) > ē, and the ē in RGl. may have passed through the stage ǝ (< ǝ) > ē.

It should be observed, finally, that the ME Kent. forms given above could also be explained — the *e*-form in Ay. even in two ways — on the basis of prim. OKent. *s w i r h j a n (cf. § 266):

- *s w i r h j a n > *s w i u r h j a n >
 1) *s w i o r h a > *s w i ō r a, *s w ē ō r a : PM(D) *swiere*, Ay. *zuere*.
 2) *s w u r h j a > *s w y r h a > *s w ŷ r a > *s w ē r a : Ay. *zuere*.

5. Prim. OE w + ǝ liable to u/o-umlaut.

weorlð s.

war- a) BB, DEn., CM (C) (& r. : *herd* pp.; ~ *wer-*, *wor-*) — b) Bok. (1 case; ~ *wer-*).

wer- a) NLeg. (~ *wor-*), CM (CE) (& r. : *-erd*, *-ard*; ~ C *war-*, *wor-*), Ps., RRPr. (CH) (~ *wor-*) — b) O (~ *weor-*), Man. (& r. : *-erd*; ~ *wor-*), NG, PP (cf. § 84), B, GE, Bok. (~ *war-*) — d) Prose Ps. (2 cases; ~ *wor-*) — e) Tit. (~ *weor-*, *wor-*) — g) VV (1 case; ~ *wor-*), PM (D) (~ *wor-*).

wor- a) NLeg. (2 cases; ~ *wer-*), CM (C) (1 case; ~ *wer-*, *war-*), RRPr. (CH) (~ *wer-*) — b) Man. (~ *wer-*) — c) Ch., LCh. — d) Gaw., Prose Ps. (~ *wer-*), Myrc — e) PM (L), KGr., AR, Tit. (~ *wer-*, *weor-*) — f) WFr., OEH (~ *weor-*), ON, RGl. — g) VV (~ *wer-*), PM(D) (~ *wer-*), KS, Ay., Sho. (& r. : *-ferled* v.).

weor- b) O (~ *wer-*) — e) Tit. (~ *wer-*, *wor-*) — f) OEH (~ *wor-*).

weored s., etc.

wor- e) KGr., AR, Tit. (~ *weor-*).

weor- e) Tit. (~ *wor-*).

wir- b) GE.

sweoli s. »cauma».

sweo- f) WFr.

wele s.

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wo- f) OEH (~ *weo-*, *we-*).

wa- b) GE (& r. : *dale* s.).

weo- e) KGr., AR, Tit. (~ *we-*) — f) WFr., OEH (~ *wo-*, *we-*), ON.

we-(& *wee-*) a) NLeg., CM (C), Ps. (& r.: *Irael*, *fele* adj.), RRPr. (& r.: *wehe* s.) — b) Man. (& r.: $\bar{e}$) — c) Ch. (& r.: $\bar{e}$), LCh. (-*ee-*) — d) Gaw. — e) PM (L), Tit. (~ *weo-*) — f) OEH (~ *wo-*, *weo-*) — g) VV, PM(D), Sho. (& r.: *fele* adj., *skæle* s.).

weli adj.

weo- e) AR.

we- a) CM(C), Ps. — b) GE — f) WFr.

weler s. »labium».

we- f) WFr.

dweole, -*e* δ s. (cf. *dwole* etc. OEH, ON, VV, with original OE $w\ddot{o}$ -, see §§ 197, 205, 222).

-*weo-* e) AR — f) ON.

-*we-* g) VV.

bedweol(i)en v. (cf. § 10).

-*weo-* e) KGr., AR, Tit.

swevet s.

-*weo-* e) KGr., Tit.

hwezel s. »wheel» (cf. § 6).

-*we-* g) Ay., Sho.

For *soster* »sister» Ch. (1.: *pater noster*), see B 3.

- 317 Here may also be mentioned the plural forms of *wer* s. »man», *wei* s. »way», and the present-stem forms of *wezen* »weigh», *weven* »weave», *cwelen* »die», *cweðen* »speak» (all with prim. OE $\check{e}$); perhaps also 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind., etc. of *dwelien* »err» (prim. OE $\check{e}$; or $\check{a}$ + i-umlaut? Cf. above *bedweolien*). — In all inflectional forms of this kind the original u/o-umlaut in those forms and dialects in which it was to be expected, was to a great extent removed, already in the course of the OE period, by the analogy of regularly non-umlauted forms as well of the same words as of others belonging to the same grammatical groups (cf. e. g. LINDE-LÖF, Archiv 89, 129 ff. : strong verbs). Consequently all the ME forms of this kind which do not distinctly point to an older (-)w $\check{e}$ o- may — and probably, should to a great extent — be derived from OE (-)w $\check{e}$ -forms. The only ME cases certainly originating in OE (-)w $\check{e}$ o- are *cweoðe* 1 sg. pres. ind. KGr. (1), and probably (though the MS. presents some cases of -eo- for -e-, cf. §§ 196, 198) *weoðes* s. pl. OEH (1). On the other hand an OE basis (-)w $\check{e}$ - is indicated (cf. § 149) by the *we*-forms in AR (of *wezen*), probably also (cf. § 64) by the form *weress* s. pl. in O 320, 5382, 5394, 5626, 10458, 11210, 11294, (19439, 19443), and probably (cf. § 205) by the (-)*we*-forms in ON (of *wezen*, *cweðen*).

- 318 a. The Northern texts have *wor-* in *weorlð*; *we(r)-* in *weorlð*, *wele*, *weli*; and *war-* in *weorlð*.

The North ONhb form *woruld* etc. is no doubt the basis of the *wor*-forms, and the South ONhb *weoruld* etc. probably, in the main at least, the basis of the *wer-* (and *war-*) forms of the same word in our Northern ME texts. It should

be observed however that, except in the comparatively late MSS. of RRPr., the *wor*-form — which is certainly original, an influence from the East Midland dialect being excluded, as it seems to have had only *we(o)r*-forms — is very scarce in the Northern texts, appearing only twice in NLeg. and once in CM(C), thus completely lacking not only in the late MSS. of BB and DEN. but also in the early CM(E) and Ps. This preponderance of the *wer*- (and *war*-)forms in the MSS. — cf. also the rimes : *-erd*, *-ard* in CM — is not in keeping with the distinctions made in the ONhb texts. If no external influence is assumed, the distribution of the ME forms would imply either that *weor*-forms were spread far more widely over the ONhb dialect territory than the extant ONhb texts would seem to indicate; or that, for some reason or other, *wëor*- (> *wër*-)forms, at first exclusively South Nhb, to a large extent encroached upon the North Nhb territory during the latest OE or, more probably, the early ME period. The latter alternative seems the more plausible one, especially with the additional support of possible external influence, either through literature, from the East Midland dialect generally, or from settlers of Merc. or Scand. origin.

The *war*-form of *weorlð* in the modern North-Eastern Sc. 319 dialects is derived by MUTSCHMANN § 64 from a ME Sc. -*ō*- < ONhb *woruld*. In accordance with this derivation, the consistent spelling *war*- in our Sc. texts could be an early instance of this change. But there is no trace of such a development in other words with ONhb *wor* + cons. (: cf. B 4, C 4); and the *war*-form may be quite plausibly explained on the basis of earlier *wër*-, both in our texts (cf. § 311) and in the modern North-Eastern Sc. dialects (cf. MUTSCHMANN §§ 78 ff., 88).

The exclusive *we*-forms of *wele* s., *weli* adj. may have their vowel partly from the South ONhb *w eo*-forms,

partly from the (analogical ?) ONhb *we-* & *woe-* forms (cf. § 405).

- 320 b. The EMidl. texts have *wor-* in *weorlđ* (: Man.); *weor-* in *weorlđ* (: O); *we(r)-* in *weorlđ*, *wele*, *weli*; *wa(r)-* in *weorlđ* (: Bok.), *wele* (: GE); and *wir-* in *weored* (: GE).

Apart from the *wor-* forms in Man. which are doubtless of SW or WMidl. origin — cf. for other SW or (South-) West Midl. forms (: introduced by the scribe) in Man., above § 68 — all our EMidl. forms of *weorlđ* (: *weor-*, *wer-*, *war-*) regularly correspond to the OMerc. *wēor-* (or perhaps partly *wēr-*: cf. VPs. *weoruld* etc. (about 150) ~ *werulde* gen. & dat. sg. (6); see further § 405). The absence of an EMidl. (< late OEMerc.) *w*-monophthongized vowel in this case (as against *wurð* s. & adj. etc.) is plausibly explained by assuming that the OEMerc. *weoruld*, at least in its uninflected form, kept the vowel of the second syllable till the change *wēo* > *wū* / *r* + cons. had taken place. If Orrm's *we(o)relld* etc. is a pure EMidl. form, it is directly in favour of this assumption; the fact that the MSS. of all the rest of our EMidl. texts present only monosyllabic forms proves nothing to the contrary, as the earliest of these MSS. (that of B) is probably half a century later than that of O. Besides even the spelling *we(o)rld* (in OE as well as in ME) may at least occasionally represent a disyllabic pronunciation, with syllabic *-l-*. — An influence of the Scand. *-e*-form cannot be traced; but the Scand. form *m a y* of course to some extent be at the bottom of the EMidl. *wer-*.

The *we-* forms of *wele* s. Man. (& r.), *weli* adj. GE may spring either from OMerc. *wēo-* or from (OE or ME) analogical *wē-* (cf. § 405).

- 321 I have not found any parallels in the other texts to the remarkable forms *wale* s. (: *dale*) and *wird* s. in GE. As to *wale*, it probably derives from an OE *weala*, due either to

some kind of analogy (: cf. the OE variant *feala*, and ME *fale*, *vale* (RGl., ON)), or to o-umlaut of *ě* (: BÜLBR. El. § 236 ff). — *wird* is considered by MORSE. Gr. § 109 as developed from earlier ME *-ě-*.¹⁾

c. The London texts have *wor-* in *weorlđ*; and *we-* (& *wee-*) 322 in *wele*. — The *wor*-form of *weorlđ* in these texts is evidently of Southern (: SW or Kent.) origin.

d. The WMidl. texts have *wor-* in *weorlđ*; and *we(r)-* in *weorlđ* (: Prose Ps.), *wele*. — The *wor*-form of *weorlđ* (: Gaw., Prose Ps., Myrc) presupposes a WMidl. w-monophthongization of *-ě o-* in this word²⁾ (contrary to the consistent usage in the ĒMidl., see § 320). It is probable on general grounds (: cf. the other dialects) that this monophthongization took place already in OWMerc.; but since we have no certain OWMerc. texts, we cannot tell whether the monophthongized form was early in OWMerc. (as it was in ONhb and OWS) or whether it did not appear till the very transition into ME (as probably in OKent., cf. § 325). For the same reason, and because our ME WMidl. texts use *wo-* for OE *w ŭ* as well as for OE *w ǝ* - (cf. §§ 131, 136, 146), we can come to no certain decision as to the original quality of the monophthong; but it seems probable that it was an *ǝ*-vowel (not an *ŭ*-vowel) in this dialect as in all others (cf. for OE § 404; for ME § 325).

¹⁾ The form *wyrede* found in the Laud. MS. of the Chronicle (under A. D. 755) is probably also a case of this ME ĒMidl. *wi*-form. It was no doubt introduced (for an original *werode*, = the Parker MS.) by the Peterborough scribe who wrote the Laud. MS. (ab. A. D. 1121; cf. EARLE Introd. p. XLIII).

²⁾ The *wor*-form in Gaw. and Myrc could also be derived from the WMidl. *w ū r* < *w e o r* -, cf. § 130 f. But since the *wor*-form in Prose Ps. presupposes a specially WMidl. w-monophthongization in *weorlđ*, it seems probable that the *wor*-form in Gaw. and Myrc is to be explained in the same way.

The *wer*-form of *weorld* in Prose Ps. should probably be considered to indicate that Prose Ps. represents a more Eastern variety of the WMidl. dialect than Gaw. and Myrc (which have only *world*); cf. for other probable signs of E Midl. influence in Prose Ps., above § 129. — The *we*-form of *wele* may come from OMerc. *wěo*- or OMerc. *wě*- (see § 405).

- 323 e. The »Saxon- Mercian» texts have *wor*- in *weorld*, *weored*; *weo(r)*- in *weorld* (: Tit.), *weored* (: Tit.), *wele*, *weli*, *dweole*, *bedweol(i)en*, *swevet* (& *cweðe* 1 sg. pres. ind., cf. § 317); and *we(r)*- in *weoruld* (: Tit.), *wele* (: PM(L), Tit). — The *wor*-forms of *weorld* and, probably, *weored* (: the rare cases of *-o* = *ö* < OE *e o* (cf. §§ 163, 172, 184) need hardly be taken into consideration here) stand for *wor*- (not *wur*:- cf. ll. cc.), no doubt derived from an OE *wōr*-, which may be of WMerc. (cf. above) or WS (cf. below) origin. — The consistent use of *weo*- in many words in KGr., AR, Tit. — forms that evidently presuppose OE *wěo*- or OE *we*- (cf. § 149) — decidedly points to the OMerc., not to the OWS dialect (:where *wě*-forms were frequent, cf. § 405). — The *we*-forms in Tit. may represent OE *weo*- or OE *we*- (cf. § 149); but the *we*-forms in KGr., AR (: § 317) and probably also *wele* PM (L) (cf. § 149) can only represent OE *we*-.

- 324 f. The SW texts have *wo(r)*- in *weorld*, *wele* (:OEH); *weo(r)*- in *weorld* (: OEH), *sweoli*, *wele*, *dweole* (& *wezes* s. pl., see § 317); and *we*- in *wele* (:OEH), *weli*, *weler*.

As to *weorld*, an OWS *wor*- is unequivocally presupposed by the *wor*-form in WFr. (cf. § 189), by the frequent use of the same form in OEH, and by its consistent use in ON (: which circumstances exclude its standing for *-ö*- or *-u*- in these two texts, cf. §§ 197 ff., 205). The same OWS form

is no doubt also the basis of the *wor*-forms in RGl., whose orthography is however not conclusive on this point (: its *wo*- stands for OE $w \ddot{o}$ as well as for OE $w \ddot{u}$ -, cf. § 212). The *weor*-forms of *weorlđ* in OEH (16 cases) probably derive from OWS $w \ddot{e} o r$ -; but since OEH very often writes *-eo-* for *-o-* (: thus *weorđ* etc. »word« in about the same proportion as *weorlđ* etc. »world«), these *weor*-forms might also possibly represent OWS $w \ddot{o} r$ -. However this may be, there is a very great preponderance of the *wor*-forms of *weorlđ* in our SW texts; a fact which tallies quite well with the usage both in early OWS texts (cf. § 404 f.) and some late OWS ones (cf. for the Blickling Homilies, BÜLBR. El. § 268 Anm. 3, and for MS. Cp of the WS Gospels, below § 404 f.). Consequently it is not necessary to assume a change $w \ddot{e} o$ - > $w \ddot{o}$ - / r + vowel in the latest OWS, i. e. after the date of our latest OWS texts (cf. the Kent. dialect, § 325).

The isolated *wo*-form of *welē* in OEH no doubt represents $w \ddot{o}$ - < OWS $w \ddot{e} o$ - (cf. § 199); and the same OWS form is evidently the basis of the *weo*-forms of *sweoli*, *welē*, *dweole*. — The *we*-forms (: in WFr., OEH) represent OWS $w \ddot{e} o$ - or OWS $w \ddot{e}$ -, as a rule probably the latter (cf. §§ 189, 198).

g. The Kent. texts (excepting VV, for which see below) 325 have *wor*- in *weorlđ*; and *we(r)*- in *weorlđ*, *welē*, *hwezel*.

The *wor*-form of *weorlđ* evidently presupposes a *w*-monophthongization in the Kent. dialect. As the extant O Kent. texts do not show any trace of a monophthongization of $\ddot{e} o$ by *w* -, it seems likely that this change, in the present case as well as / r + cons. (cf. § 305), did not take place until the very close of the OE period. As to the original quality of the monophthong, the orthography of the MSS. (there are no rimes to *-ur-*, *-or-*) tells us nothing, because all the MSS. more or less frequently (or regularly) use *wo*-

for OE $w \check{u}$ - as well as for OE $w \check{o}$ - (cf. §§ 226, 230, 236, 248). But there is nothing that speaks against an $\check{o}$ -vowel : even if, which is far from certain (cf. § 305), the late OKent. $w \check{e} o r$ + cons. gave only $w \check{u} r$ -, this circumstance proves nothing in the case of $w \check{e} o r$ + vowel (or syllabic -l-). — On the whole, the existence of an early ME $w \check{u}$ -form of *weorlð*, in any dialect, seems very unlikely; the only early ME *wu*-forms of the word that I have noticed, one case in the ME Kent. Gospels (*wurldē* Mk 10/30 (MS. H)) and one in Lazamon (*wurldē* 15973 : LUHMANN p. 134), are not conclusive, because apart from the probability that the forms are mere clerical errors, both the texts in question occasionally write -u- for -o- [cf. REIMANN p. 21 (who however gives only one certain case: *gebrute* MS. H, L 9/17), and LUHMANN pp. 93 f., 117].

The *wer*-form of *weorlð* in PM(D) — cf. also the rime-word *þerled* in Sho., which indicates a form *werlð* in the original — may be judged, as far as it derives from OKent. $w \check{e} o r$ - (and not from OKent. $w \check{e} r$ -, cf. § 405) exactly like the *wer*-forms of *weorc*, (*sweorð*), cf. § 306.

The *we*-forms of *wele* s., *hwezel* s. in Ay. and Sho., if based on late OKent. $w e o$ - (and not on OKent $w e$ -, cf. § 405), represent the regular Kent. development of $\check{e} o > \check{e}$ (cf. KONRATH, Archiv 88,161).

326 VV goes with the Kent. dialect (apart from using the variant *wordles*, see § 409) in completely avoiding -eo-forms of the words of this group. — It has no distinctly SW (< OWS) forms of these words.

6. Prim. OE *w* + *ǣ* / *r* + cons. liable to i-umlaut. 327

werien v. »curse».

war- a) BB, DEu. (& r.: *miscareit*), CM(C) (~ *we-*, *wi-*) — b) O, Man. (& r.: *marye* n. pr.), PP, GE — d) Prose Ps. (~ *we-*) — e) KGr., AR (& *-iung* s.), Tit. — f) OEH (~ *we-*) — g) VV (1 case; ~ *we-*), Ay.

wer- a) NLeg., CM (CE) (~ *wa-*, *wi-*), Ps., RRPr. (CH) — d) Prose Ps. (~ *wa-*) — f) OEH (~ *wa-*) — g) VV (~ *wa-*).

wi- a) CM(C) (1 case; ~ *wa-*, *we-*).

wernen v. »refuse».

war- a) BB, DEu. (& *warnour* s.), CM (CE) (& r.: *barn* s.; ~ *we-*), RRPr. (H) — e) Tit. (1 case; ~ *we-*) — g) Sho.

wer- a) CM (C) (r.: *lern* v., *ern* s.; ~ *wa-*) — b) Man. (& r.: *-erne(de)*), GE — c) Ch. (& r.: *-erne*), [L Ch.] — d) Gaw., Myrc — e) KGr., AR (~ *wea-*), Tit. (~ *wa-*) — f) OEH, ON (& r.: *derne* adv.) — g) VV (~ *wæ-*), Ay.

wear- e) AR (~ *we-*).

wær- g) VV (~ *we-*).

wur- f) RGl. (& r.: *biturne* inf., *turnde* pt.).

werden v. »harm».

328

wer- b) O (~ *weo-*).

weo- b) O (~ *we-*).

werk s., *-in* v. »doleo» etc.

wer- b) PP, (?) GE.

hwerfen v.

wher- b) O, (?) PP.

(?) *wermpfe* s.

wer- f) OEH (cf. § 194).

For *wermen* v. «warm», see above § 11.

For *cwerne* s., see B 4 (§§ 293, 310).

329

a, b, c, d, e, g. The Northern, Midl., London, «Saxon-Mercian», and Kent. texts have *wer-* in *werien*, *wernen*, *werden* (: O), *werk*, *-in*, *hwerfen*; *weor-* in *werden* (: O); *wir-* in *werien* (: CM(C)); *wear-* in *wernen* (: AR); *wær-* in *wernen* (: VV); and *war-* in *werien*, *wernen*.

The Northern and Midl. *wer*-forms and perhaps also those in the London and the «Saxon-Mercian» texts regularly represent OAngl. *w e r -*; and the Kent. *wer*-forms regularly represent OKent. *w e r* . — To *weordenn* etc. in O corresponds the remarkable *weorðað* «affligunt» in Ru². (1 case), but this form is probably only a scribal error (for *wer-* or *woer-*, cf. § 413); and the *weor*-form in O is either due to a change *w e -* > *w ö -* (cf. C 2) or, since there are no certain cases of such a change in O (cf. §§ 63, 353, 356), it is more probably, perhaps, one of the cases where we must suppose that Orrm's *-eo-* is not phonetically or etymologically justified (cf. § 64). — For *wirid* CM(C), see § 41; for *war-* see § 331. — As to the remaining forms, the isolated cases *wærnen* VV, *wearnen* AR, the former (cf. SCHMIDT VV pp. 19, 36) stands for *w e r -* or *w a r -*, and the latter (cf. OSTERMANN AR §§ 3, 16, 17) probably (cf. below § 331) represents OE *w e a r -* (: from *wearnian* ~ *war(e)nian*).

330 **f.** The SW texts have *wer-* in *werien*, *wernen*, *wermpē* (: OEH); *war-* in *werien*; and *wur-* in *wernen* (: RG1.).

The *wur*-form in RG1. evidently derives from the exclusively OWS *w y r -* (< *w i e r -*); whether directly or through the stage of a late OWS *w u r -* (< *w ỹ r -* < *w ǣ r -*; BÜLBR. El. § 280) cannot be decided, because the rime-words may have *-ü-* or *-u-*, and *-u-* is used in RG1. for OWS *y*

(incl. $y < ie$, cf. PABST § 34 f.) as well as ($\sim -o-$, cf. PABST § 32) for OWS $\ddot{u}$. — The SW *wer*-forms certainly trace back to OE e , especially since an $-e-$ of the same kind appears in other words in all the texts in question (: cf. for RGL., PABST §§ 14 b, 16 e; for OEH, COHN p. 11); in ON this $-e-$ is even used to the exclusion of $-u-$ (cf. GADOW § 28). — For the *war*-forms, see § 331.

Special cases.

331

Forms with *war*- [cf. *wear*- AR, *wær*- VV, § 329].

The *war*-forms of *werien*, *wernen* in b) O, Man., PP, GE, d) Prose Ps., e) KGr., AR, Tit., f) OEH, g) VV, Ay., Sho. must have an early ME a -vowel; probably also the isolated cases in a) CM(E), RRPr.(H) (: which texts have no certain cases of *war*- $< w\ddot{e}r$ -; cf. for CM(E), HÖRNING § 2, 2), and the *war*-form of *wernen* in a) CM(C) (: rimed: *barn* s.). This early ME a - is probably the non-umlauted vowel of, respectively, (ME) *war* s. (: partly perhaps $< OS$ cand.) and *warnien* v. (: cf. Bosw.-TOLLER *warenian* II 3, with the sense of the OIcel. *varna* »deny, refuse»); the scarce OE $wær$ - $< (non-broken) w\ddot{a}r + i$ -umlaut (: in Li., and perhaps Ru¹, cf. § 413) need hardly be taken into consideration here. — The *war*-forms in a) BB, DEn., and to some extent (cf. above) CM(C), may also be derived from early ME $w\ddot{e}r$ -; cf. the *war*-forms of *werre* comp (§ 259), *weorc* s. (§ 294), *weorlð* (§§ 315, 319) in these texts.

332 C. Prim. OE *w* + vowel not liable to breaking or u-/o-umlaut.

I. Prim. OE *wī*.

wīl, -*e*, *wīlt*, etc. sg. & pl. pres. (ind. & opt.).

wī-, *wy*- a) Sc. Ch., BB, DEn., NLeg., CM (CE) (~ *we*-), Ps., RRPr. — b) Chr., O, Man. (~ *wo*-), NG (~ *wo*-), B (& r.: *ī*), GE (& r.: *ī*), Bok. (cf. § 102) — c) Procl., Ch. (cf. § 112; ~ *wo*-), LCh. (~ *we*-, *wu*-, *wo*-) — d) Gaw. (~ *wo*-), Prose Ps. — e) PM (L) (~ *wu*-), KGr. (1 case; ~ *wu*-), AR (~ *wu*-), Tit. (~ *wu*-) — f) OEH (~ *wu*-), ON (& r.: *schīle* s.; ~ *wu*-, *w*-), RGl. (~ *wu*-, *wo*-) — g) VV, PM (D), KS, Ay., Sho. (~ *wo*-).

we- a) CM (CE) (~ *wī*-, *wy*-) — c) LCh. (~ *we*-, *wo*-, *wī*- & *wy*-) — f) Winch. [Cf. *welīng* pres. p. b) Bok., see § 102].

wu- c) LCh. (~ *we*-, *wo*-, *wī*- & *wy*-) — e) PM (L) (~ *wī*-), KGr. (~ 1 *wī*-), AR (~ *wī*-), Tit. (~ *wī*-) — f) WFr., OEH (~ *wī*-), ON (& r.: *schīle* pres. opt., *gult* s., *agrulle* v.; ~ *w*-, *wī*-), RGl. (2 cases; ~ *wo*-, *wī*-).

w- f) ON (~ *wu*-, *wī*-).

wo- b) Man. (~ *wī*-, *wy*-), NG (1 case; ~ *wī*-, *wy*-) — c) Ch. (cf. § 112; ~ *wīlt*), LCh. (~ *we*-, *wu*-, *wī*- & *wy*-) — d) Gaw. (1 case; ~ *wī*-, *wy*-), Myrc (& r.: *folghthe* < OE *fulluht*) — f) RGl. (~ *wu*-, *wī*-) — g) Sho (~ *wī*-, *wy*-).

333 *hwīlc*, *hwūlc*.

hwī-, -*y*- (& *quī*-, *wī*-, etc.) a) Sc. Ch., BB, DEn., NLeg., CM (CE), Ps., RRPr. — b) O, Man. (~ *u*-), NG (~ *-e*-, *-a*-), PP, B, GE (~ *-e*-), Bok. — c) Ch., LCh. (~ *-e*-) — d) Gaw., Prose Ps., Myrc — e) PM (L), Tit. (1 case; ~ *-wu*-, *-w*-) — f) OEH (~ *-(w)u*-, *-w*-), RGl. (~ *-u*-, *-o*-), Winch. (~ *-e*-) — g) VV (~ *-æ*-), PM (D), KS, Ay., Sho. (~ *-e*-).

hwe- (etc.) b) NG (1 case, cf. § 80; ~ *-i*-, *-a*-), GE (1 case;

~ -i-) — c) LCh. (~ -i-, -y-) — f) Winch. (~ -y-) — g) Sho. (~ -i-).

hwæ- g) VV (1 case; ~ -i-) (cf. §§ 221, 342).

wa- b) NG (1 case; ~ -i-, -e-) (cf. § 80).

hwu-, hu- (etc.) b) Man. (1 case; ~ -i-, -y-) — e) KGr., AR, Tit. (~ -wi-, -w-) — f) WFr., OEh (~ -wi-, -w-), ON, RGl. (~ -i-, -o-).

wo- f) RGl. (~ -i-, -u-).

(*h*)*w-* e) Tit. (1 case; ~ -i-, -u-) — f) OEh (1 case; ~ -i-, -(*w*)*u-*).

swilc, swūlc.

334

s(w)i-, -y- (& *sui-, zui-*, etc.) a) Sc. Ch., BB, DEh., NLeg. (& r.: *milk*, cf. § 35), CM (CE) (& r.: *ilke*; cf. § 42), Ps., RR Pr. — b) Chr., O, Man. (~ *su-*), NG (~ *so-*), PP, B, GE (cf. § 94), Bok. (cf. § 102) — c) Ch. (~ *su-*), [LCh.] (~ *su-*) — d) Prose Ps., Myrc (& r.: *myche* »much»; ~ *su-*) — e) PM(L) (~ *swu-*), Tit. (~ *s(w)u-*) — f) OEh (~ *s(w)u-*), ON (~ *swu-*), R Gl. (~ *su-*), Winch. — g) VV (~ *swu-*), PM (D), KS, Ay. (~ -e-), Sho. (~ -e-, *su-*, *so(u)-*).

s(w)e- d) Gaw. (1 case; ~ *su-*) — g) Ay. (i. e. *zue-*; ~ -i-, -y-), Sho. (~ -i-, -y-, *su-*, *so(u)-*).

s(w)u- b) Man. (12 cases; ~ regular -i-, -y-) — c) Ch. (3 cases, cf. § 112; ~ regular -i-), LCh. [~ *swi-, swy-*] — d) Gaw (~ 1 *se-*), Myrc (~ *sy-*) — e) PM (L) (~ -i-), KGr., AR, Tit. (~ -i-) — f) OEh (~ -i-), ON (~ -i-), RGl. (~ -i-) — g) VV (~ -i-), Sho. (~ -i-, -y-, -e-, -o(u)-).

so(u)- b) NG (1 case; ~ regular -i-) — g) Sho. (~ -i-, -y-, -e-, -u-).

(?) *swimmen* v.

335

swome inf. a) BB (1 case; ~ *swy-*).

swmminde pres. p. f) OEh (1 case; ~ *swi-*).

wimpele s.

womple a) DEh. (1 case; ~ regular *wym-*).

wiste, *wist* pt. & pp. (of *witen* »know»; »guard»).

we- g) Ay. (? cf. § 234; ~ -i-, -y-), Sho. (? cf. § 246; ~ -y-).

wu- e) AR — f) ON (& r. : *custe* pt.; ~ *wi-*), RGl. (& r. : *truste* v., *cusste* pt.; ~ I *w-*, I *wi-*).

w- f) RGl. (I case; ~ *wu-*, I *wi-*).

wi ð prep.

(*w*)*u-* a) *owtuth* Sc.Ch. (2; ~ *wi-*, *wy-*, -*ov-*) — f) RGl. (I case; ~ *wi-*, *wy-*).

-*ov-* a) *enouth* Sc. Ch. (I case; ~ *wi-*, *wy-*, -*u-*).

hwiðer.

(*h*)*wu-* e) AR — f) RGl. (~ -*w-*, *wo-*).

zw- f) RGl. (I case; ~ *wu-*, *wo-*).

wo- f) RGl. (~ *wu-*, -*w-*) — g) Sho. (~ *wi-*).

336 *wifman* s. (sg.).

wi-, *wy-* a) CM (CE) (~ *wo-*) — b) Chr., O (& *wifm-*), NG (2 cases; ~ *wo-*), GE — e) Tit. (~ *wu-*) — f) OEH (*wifm-*), ON (~ *wu-*), RGl. (I case; ~ *wo-*) — g) VV (*wifm-*), KS, Ay. (& *wifm-*), Sho.

we- a) RRPr. (C) (2 cases; ~ *wo-*).

wu- b) Bok. — e) KGr., AR, Tit. (~ *wi-*) — f) ON (~ *wi-*).

wo- a) Sc. Ch., BB, DEn., NLeg., CM (CE) (~ *wi-*), RRPr. (CH) (~ *we-*) — b) Man., NG (~ *wy-*), PP — c) Ch., LCh. — d) Myrc — f) RGl. (~ *wi-*).

wifmen s. (pl.).

wi-, *wy-* a) NLeg. (I case; ~ *we-*), CM (CE) (~ *wo-*), RRPr. (H) (I case; ~ *we-*, *wo-*) — b) Chr., O (& *wifm-*), Man. (~ *wo-*), B, GE — c) [LCh.] (~ *wo-*) — d) Gaw. Myrc. — e) Tit. — f) OEH (& *wifm-*), ON (~ *wu-*), RGl. (~ *wo-*) — g) Ay. (& *wifm-*), Sho.

we- a) Sc.Ch. (~ *wo-*), BB (~ *wo-*), DEn. (~ *wo-*), NLeg. (~ *wy-*), RRPr. (CH) (~ *wy-*, *wo-*).

wu- b) Bok. (cf. § 102) — e) KGr., AR — f) ON (~*wi-*).
wo- a) Sc. Ch. (~*we-*), BB (~*we-*), DEñ. (1 case; ~*we-*),
 CM (CE) (~*wi-*), RRPr. (C) (1 case; ~*wy-*, *we-*) — b) Man.
 (~*wy-*), NG — c) Ch., LCh. [~ *wy-*] — f) RGl. (1 case; ~
wi-, *wy-*).

hwile.

hwu- (& *wu-*, *hu-*) e) AR (~-*i-*) — f) WFr. (~-*i-*), RGl.
 (~-*i-*, *w-*).

(*h*)*w-* e) PM (L) (~-*i-*) — f) OEH (~-*i-*), RGl. (~-*u-*,
 -*i-*).

swiðe adv.

s(w)u- e) AR (~-*i-*) — f) WFr., ON (~-*i-*).

Here may also be mentioned *wundi* adj. »averse» KGr. 337
 (2), *halwunde* adj. KGr. (3), which must derive from forms
 with *wĩ-*, either = OE *wĩ-* (: not found in OE texts) or
 < OE *wē-* (: STODTE KGr. § 36 II). — Cf. also *grundes-*
wulie WFr. (§ 188).

a. The Northern texts have -*o-* in *swimmen* (:BB), *wimpel* 338
 (: DEñ.), *wifman*, *wifmen*; -*u-* (& -*ov-* Sc. Ch.) in -*wið* (: Sc.
 Ch.) [for *swlk* NLeg., *sulk* CM (CE), see §§ 35, 42]; -*e-* in *wil*
 etc., *wifman*, *wifmen*; and -*i-*, -*y-* in *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*,
wifman, *wifmen*.¹⁾

The forms with -*o-*, -*u-* (& -*ov-*) of *swimmen*, *wimpel*,
 -*wið* can be derived from late ONhb *wỹ-* (cf. § 417) > ME
wũ- (cf. the Northern *wur-* & *wor-* forms < ONhb *wỹr-*,
 § 361); but on the other hand they may also, and in my opi-
 nion with better reason, be explained on the basis of ME *wĩ-*

¹⁾ I have not consistently recorded -*i-* & -*y-* forms of other words of
 this group than *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wifman*-, *men*. Cf. however the sec-
 tions C 1 in Chapter I, and further §§ 335, 336.

forms. As to the *-u-* (& *-ov-*)forms of *-wið*, they evidently represent a weak-stress development and are consequently not on a par with the other cases. The isolated *-o-*forms of *swimmen*, *wimpel*, are certainly stressed forms; but since they both occur in late (: i. e. late 15th and early 16th century) Sc. MSS., they are probably early cases of the dialectal Sc. change of $\check{i} (> \check{u}) > v$ under the influence of surrounding consonants (especially labials) which is recorded by MUTSCHMANN §§ 51, 56 b (cf. also EDGr. § 69). — The *-i-*, *-y-*forms may, as far as the ME vowel is concerned, derive from ONhb *w y-* as well as from ONhb *w i-*.

For *wifman*, *-men*, see § 343 ff. For the *we-*forms of *wil* etc. in CM (CE), see § 42.

- 339 b. The EMidl. texts have *-o-* in *wil* etc. (: Man., NG), *swilc* (:NG 1), *wifman*, *wifmen*; *-u-* in *hwilc* (: Man. 1), *swilc* (: Man.), *wifman*, *wifmen*; *-e-* in *hwilc* (: NG 1, GE 1) [cf. also *weling* pres. p. in Bok., § 102]; *-a-* in *hwilc* (: NG 1); and *-i-*, *-y-* in *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wifman*, *wifmen*.¹⁾

Apart from *wifman*, *-men*, for which see § 343 ff., the *-o-* and *-u-*forms occur only in Man. and NG (cf. also Bok., §§ 98, 102), where there is reason for suspecting that they are SW (< OWS) forms (cf. §§ 68, 80, 98). Our texts consequently offer no certain cases of a *w*-modification of $\check{i}$ within the OEMerc. > ME EMidl. dialect; it should be observed however that the *i*-vowel of the *-i-*, *-y-*forms may represent, phonetically, O Merc. $\check{y}$ as well as O Merc. $\check{i}$.

For the *-e-*forms see §§ 80, 94; for the *-a-*form in NG, see § 80.

- c. The London texts have *-o-* in *wil* etc., *wifman*, *wifmen*; *-u-* in *wil* etc. (: LCh.), *swilc*; *-e-* in *wil* etc. (:LCh.), *hwilc* (:LCh.); and *-i-*, *-y-* in *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wifmen* [LCh 1].¹⁾ — The *-o-* and *-u-*forms of *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*, are no doubt

¹⁾ Cf. foot-note on p. 197.

of SW (< OWS) origin; the remaining -o-forms (: of *wifman*, -men, cf. § 343 ff.), the -e-forms (cf. § 119), and the -i-, -y-forms may all be af OMerc. or OWS origin.

d. The WMidl. texts have -o- in *wil* etc. (: Gaw. 1, Myrc 340 & 1.), *wifman* (: Myrc); -u- in *swilc* (: Gaw., Myrc); -e- in *swilc* (: Gaw. 1); and -i-, -y- in *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wifmen*.¹⁾

The -o- and -u-forms of *wil* etc., *swilc* in Gaw. and Myrc (for *wifman* see § 343 ff.) seem to imply OWMerc. w ǃ - (< wī-)forms, whose vowel was probably — when it was not delabialized to ǃ (: cf. the -i-, -y-forms) — developed to ŭ in the course of the ME period. An ŭ-vowel is directly indicated by the -o-forms of *wil* etc. (and *wifman*), and by the rime *wolpe: folghthe* (in Myrc); the -u-form af *swilc* in Gaw. and Myrc is ambiguous, because -u- is to some extent used for OE ū as well as for OE ȳ. — The total absence of -o- and -u-forms of this group in Prose Ps. may be another sign that this text represents a more Eastern variety of the WMidl. dialect than the other texts (cf. above § 129). — The -i-, -y-forms may represent OWMerc. (w)y- as well as OWMerc. (w)i-, since -i-, -y- is the usual representative of OE ȳ in all our WMidl. texts (cf. § 122 ff.). — For the -e-form of *swilc* in Gaw., see § 135.

e. The »Saxon-Mercian» texts have -u- (& -w- : PM (L), 341 Tit.) in *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wist*, -e (: AR), *hwider* (: AR), *wifman*, *wifmen*, *hwile* (: PM (L), AR), *swiðe* (: AR); and -i- in *wil* etc., *hwilc* (: PM (L), Tit.), *swilc* (: PM (L), Tit.), *wifman* (: Tit.), *wifmen* (: Tit.).¹⁾ — The numerous -u- (& -w-) forms (probably incl. those of *wifman*, -men, cf. § 343 ff.) in these early texts no doubt come directly from OE (:OMerc. or OWS) w y - (< w i -); the -u- may in all cases stand for the old y- (= ū-)vowel. — The -i-forms, except to some

¹⁾ Cf. foot-note on p. 197.

extent those in Tit., may safely be considered to derive from OE *wi-* (not *wy-*)forms (: cf. § 148).

f. The SW texts have *-o-* in *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *hwider*, *wifman*, *wifmen* (: all in RGl.); *-u-* (& *-w-*: OEH, ON, RGl.) in *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*, *swimmen* (: OEH), *wist*, *-e*, *wið* (: RGl.), *hwider* (: RGl.), *wifman* (: ON), *wifmen* (: ON), *hwile*, *swiðe*; *-e-* in *wil* etc., *hwilc* (: both in Winch.); and *-i-* in *wil*, *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wifman*, *wifmen*¹). — The *-o-* and *-u-* (& *-w-*)forms (probably including those of *wifman*, *-men*, cf. § 343 ff.) no doubt derive from OWS *wy-* (< *wi-*); the *-u-* (& *-w-*) may in all cases stand for the old *y-* (= *ü-*) vowel. — The *-i-*, *-y-*forms derive, as a rule at least, from OWS *wi-* (not *wy-*). — For the *-e-*forms in Winch., see § 215.

342 g. The Kent. texts have *-o-* (& *-ou-*: Sho.) in *wil* etc., *swilc*, *hwider* (:all in Sho.); *-u-* in *swilc* (:VV, Sho.); *-e-* in *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wist*, *-e*; *-æ-* in *hwilc* (: VV); and *-i-*, *-y-* in *wil* etc., *hwilc*, *swilc*, *wifman*, *wifmen*.¹)

The *-u-* and *-o(u)-*forms occur only in the »mixed» VV and the WKent. Sho. (in all cases beside regular *-i-*, *-y-*forms), and consequently these forms are either direct SW loans (by authors or scribes) in VV and Sho., or else they were at home only in the Western part of the Kent. dialect territory, where they may have been adopted from the SW or possibly developed (< OWKent. *wy-*) under the influence of the SW dialect (cf. C 3, § 368). If, as seems probable (cf. § 248), the frequent form *such* etc. in Sho. contains *ü* (not *u*), this form must at any rate be a late loan from the SW dialect. — As to the *-e-*forms — to which may be added the *-æ-*form in VV, cf. SCHMIDT p. 19 f. — it is possible to derive them all from OKent. *w ỹ-* < *w ĭ* (cf. *eghwylce* (1 case) SWEET OET p. 449, Charter No. 39); but they may all be

¹) Cf. foot-note on p. 197.

explained otherwise. In fact, the *-e*-forms of *hwilc*, *swilc* in Ay. and Sho. probably derive from the OKent. *-e*-, *-æ*-variant < $\check{a}$ + *i*-umlaut (cf. § 417). The *-e*-forms of *wiste* in the same texts are more doubtful; cf. however above §§ 234, 246. — The usual *-i*-, *-y*-forms in the pure Kent. texts come from OKent *w i* - (: not *w y* -); those in VV (: which sometimes has *-i*- for OE *y*, cf. MORSB. Gr. § 112 Anm. 1) may also to some extent derive from OE (: OWS or OKent.) *w ȳ* -.

Special cases.

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wifman sg., *-men* pl. (cf. § 336).

[For the Northern *we*-forms, which probably all derive from earlier ME *w i*, see §§ 17, 23, 28, 35, 53].

There are two circumstances which give this word a special position in this group: 1) its frequent appearance with *-o*-, *-u*- in Northern and EMidl. texts, and 2) the fact that in many texts there appears a more or less regular distinction between *-o*-, *-u*- in the sg. and *-i*-, *-y*- (& *-e*-) in the pl. form.

These two circumstances very probably have the same explanation, viz. this, that in all Northern and EMidl. texts and perhaps (but not necessarily) in all other texts where we have certainly to do with a back vowel (i. e. $\check{u}$, or $\bar{o}$ < $\check{u}$; not $\check{u}$), this back vowel was phonetically developed only in the sg. form, where the influence of *w*- was supported by the back vowel (: $\check{a}$, $\check{o}$) in the following syllable (: cf. MAŘIK § 250; cf. also the form *buschope* »bishop» in PP, and HORN Gr. § 28 Anm. 3); so that consequently the pl. forms with *-o*-, *-u*- which appear in many of these texts, should be considered to have adopted the vowel of the sg. form.

I do not think that this distinction between *woman* etc. 344 sg. and *wimen* etc. pl. traces back to a corresponding OE dif-

ference *w y -*) (*w i -*, according to the quality of the following vowel¹⁾); a principle of this kind cannot be traced in OE either in the forms of *wifman*, *-men* (: which are however scarce in OE texts) or in those of any other words of this group (: cf. the OE cases of *wy-* given § 417 f.), and besides, the ME distinction between *woman* etc. sg. and *wimen* etc. pl. does not appear very early (: except for Tit. only in texts of the 14th and 15th centuries). On the other hand there may have existed (occasional) OE *w y*-forms of *wifman* sg. and *wifmen* pl., developed quite independently of the vowel of the following syllable [: cf. the «Saxon-Mercian» and SW texts, below § 347 f.; the OE texts I have investigated (cf. § 15) have only *wi-*, except for the isolated *wyfman* in MS. A of the OWS Gospels (Mk 10/6), which may stand for *w i -*, cf. § 418]; and this *-y-* might have been kept and developed to *-ŷ-* in the sg. form, and been dropped or (: in ME dialects with *-i- < OE -y-*) developed to *-i-* in the pl. form. — As regards the EMidl. dialect even this last possibility seems however to be practically excluded by the evidence of our ME texts. The earliest of these, Chr., O, GE (: in B the word does not occur in sg.), have in fact exclusively *wi-* in sg. and pl. (: cf. also *wimen* pl. in B); and it is only in the later texts Man., NG, PP, Bok. that the *-o-* and *-u-* forms appear. This fact evidently indicates the period from about the middle of the 13th century (: the approximate date of GE) to the middle of the 14th century as the time in which the *ŷ*-vowel in *woman* etc. sg. was developed in the EMidl. dialect; and if this is so, the development must have started from *w i* ; since OE *ŷ* had long been changed to *ī* at that time in the EMidl.

¹⁾ As assumed by MAŘIK § 250; mainly it seems on the strength of the ME difference *woman* etc. sg.) (*wimen* etc. pl., which in my opinion is altogether a ME problem.

A ME *wi*-form is probably also the basis of the North- 345
 ern *woman* etc. sg. It is true, we have no Northern texts
 with only *wi*-forms (etc.) (: a very natural thing, since our
 earliest Northern texts — i. e. MSS. — do not reach further
 back than the middle of the 14th century), but it should be
 noticed that MS. E of CM — which, though perhaps not our
 earliest Northern MS., yet on many points presents a more
 archaic language than other Northern MSS. (: cf. LUICK St.
 p. 7) — has still a considerable percentage of *wi*-forms (etc.),
 while all the rest of our Northern texts have but for isolat-
 ed exceptions only *woman* (etc.) in the sg. As to the time
 when the differentiation began in the North, our texts tell
 us nothing; but as proved by the forms of NLeg. the ar-
 rangement must have been (practically) established at about
 the same time as in the EMidl., i. e. about the middle of
 the 14th century.

The constant use in the London texts of *wo*- in sg. and 346
 pl. (: except for one *wymen* pl. [LCh.]) is not incompatible
 with the EMidl. dialect (: cf. NG, Bok.); but all these *wo*-forms
 may also be derived from OWS > SW *wy* - < *wi* (: cf.
 the -o-, -u-forms of *wil* etc., Ch., LCh.).

The WMidl. texts consistently use *wo*- in sg. (: Myrc.;
 cf. also *wommon* sg. in the WMidl. poem »The Perle«, KNIGGE
 Gaw. p. 44) and *wy*- in pl. (: Gaw., Myrc) [in Prose Ps. the
 word does not appear]. This state of things may quite well
 be explained on the basis of early ME *wi*- in sg. and pl.
 (: as in the EMidl. and probably in the North); but since
 there are certain ME traces of an OWMerc. *wy* - (< *wi*)
 in other words of this group (cf. § 340), it is possible that the
 WMidl. *wo*-form of *wifman* (and perhaps also the *wy*-form
 of *wifmen*) derives — to some extent, hardly exclusively —
 directly from OWMerc. *wy* - .

As to the (very early) »Saxon-Mercian« texts, KGr. and 347
 AR have constantly *wu*- (: = *w ŭ*- or *w ǔ* -) in sg. and

pl.; which forms no doubt derive directly from OE *w y* - (< *w i* -) in sg. and pl. — Tit. differs by having *wu*- (: = *w ŭ* - or *w ǔ* -) and *wi*- in sg., as against only *wi*- in pl.; evidently a conscious differentiation, since the pl. form occurs rather frequently. This differentiation is probably, in this text as in all others, a purely ME development; it probably derives in the case of Tit. from a variation *w y* - ~ *w i* - in both sg. and pl. in the corresponding OE dialect. Since Tit. (i. e. the MS.) belongs to the first half of the 13th century, the differentiation in question must however date a great deal further back in the dialect represented by this text than it seems to do in the EMidl. dialect (cf. § 344).

- 348 Of the SW texts, OEH has only *wi*- (< OWS *w i*) in sg. and pl. — ON has *wi*- in sg. and pl., and *wu*- (= *w ŭ* or *w ǔ*) in sg. (4 cases) and pl. (1 case); this distribution of *wu*- and *wi*-forms may quite well be due directly to an OWS variation *w y* - ~ *w i* - in both sg. and pl. — The same OWS variation may also be the basis of the forms in RGl.; the all but consistent distinction between *wo*- (< OWS *w y* -) in sg. and *wi*-, *wy*- (< OWS *w i* -) in pl. being due to the fact that the OWS *w y*-form was kept in the ME period and developed to *w ŭ* - before the following back vowel of the sg. form, while in the pl. form the OWS > SW *w y*-variant was supplanted by the OWS > SW *w i*-variant. The isolated *wimman* sg. and *wommen* pl. in RGl. are rather to be considered as a n a l o g i c a l forms (: with the vowels of, respectively, the regular pl. and the regular sg. forms) than as isolated direct representatives of OWS *wimman* sg. (> *w ǐ* -) and OWS *wymmen* pl. (: > *w ŭ* , as in *wol* etc., *woder* in RGl.).
- 349 Note that the Kent. texts have only *-i*-, *-y*- in sg. and pl.; even VV and Sho., the only Kent. texts which present *w*-modified forms of words of this group (cf. § 342).

2. Prim. OE $w\ddot{e}$, $w\bar{a}$ (> OAngl. & OKent. $w\bar{e}$), 350
 $w\check{a}$ -umlaut.

w e b s.

weo- e) AR.

wo- a) DEñ. (1 case).

w e l adv.

wo- b) Man. ($\sim we-$), GE ($\sim we-$) — f) RGl. ($\sim we-$) — g) VV (1 case; $\sim w(i)e-$). — Here probably also belong *wolcome*, *-lk-* adj. b) PP, [Bok.; cf. § 98], *wolcumeþ* v. f) ON ($\sim wel-$), as the adv. *wel* etc. seems to have been introduced at an early date for the original *wil-* in this word (cf. the quotations in STRATM.-BRADLEY).

s w e l l e n v.

swo- e) Tit. (1 case; $\sim -e-$).

s w e l z e n v.

sweo- e) Tit. ($\sim -o-$).

swo- b) O — d) Prose Ps. ($\sim -e-$) — e) KGr., AR. Tit. ($\sim -eo-$). — f) OEH, RGl. — g) VV ($\sim -e-$).

swa- c) Ch. (r.: *holowe* adj.).

h w e l p s., *- e n* v.

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-eo- b) O ($\sim -e-$) — e) AR.

t w e l f

-eo- e) KGr., AR, Tit. ($\sim -e-$).

-o- b) Man. ($\sim -e-$).

w e l t e n v.

wo- a) DEñ. (1 case; $\sim -e-$).

w e m m e n v., *w e m* s.

weo- e) KGr.

twentiȝ

two- a) Sc.Ch. (A.D. 1424) (1 case; ~ -e-).

wepman sg., - *men* pl.

weo- e) KGr., AR (~ *we-*).

For *weo* »we», *weoren* »were» OEh, see § 196; for *wundi* »averse», *halewunde* adj. KGr., see § 337; for *wa*-forms of *welwen* v. »wither» CM (C), DEn., see § 29.

352 Cf. the following forms of *wrestlen* (: OE *w r æ -*), *werre* etc. (< OFr.):

wrestlen v., - *ing* s.

worsling a) DEn. (1 case; ~ *wersill* v.).

werre s., *werrien* v. »war».

weo- e) KGr. (~ *wo-*), AR, Tit. (~ *wo-*, 1 *we-*).

wo- e) KGr. (1 case; ~ *weo-*), Tit. (1 case; ~ *weo-*, 1 *we-*) —

f) ON (& r. : *forre* comp.), RGl. (~ 7 *we-*).

353 a. The isolated -o-forms of *web*, *welten*, *twentiȝ* in DEn., Sc.Ch. are no doubt due to an (occasional) rounding by w - of a following ě, probably by way of ō, > ǒ: cf. the North ONhb -oe-form (: see § 420) and the -o- and -a-forms in the living North-Eastern Sc. dialect (: cf. MUTSCHMANN §§ 65, 88). — But it is far from certain that these -o-forms (and the living dialect forms with -o-, -a-) derive directly from ONhb -æ-forms; especially since the form *worsling* in DEn. (: ONhb *w r æ -*) seems to indicate a (late) ME change of w ě (r)- (< w ē (r) -) > w ǒ (r)-.

b. The EMidl. texts have -o- in *wel* (: Man., 1, *w - cume* adj. (: PP), *swelzen* (: O), *twelf* (: Man); and -eo- in *hwelpen* v. (: O).

None of these forms need be derived from an OMerc. *wæ- < we-* (: cf. § 420). The isolated *wheollpedd* in O cannot be implicitly trusted to contain an *ö*-vowel (cf. above § 64); and if it does, the form need not be native in the EMidl. (cf. § 60). As to the *-o*-form of *twelf*, it may have the vowel of the OScand. *t(u)olf* (: cf. MAŘIK §§ 44, 168); and for the *-o*-forms of *wel* etc., *swelzen*, see below §§ 355, 356.

e. The *-eo*-forms of *web*, *swelzen*, *hwelp*, *twelf*, *wem*, *-men*, 354 *wepman*, *-men*, in KGr., AR, Tit., and probably also the *-o*-form of *swellen* in Tit. (cf. § 184), represent an *ö*-vowel developed from *ě*, (mainly) through the influence of *w-* (cf. above § 149). On account of the regular occurrence of some of these forms in the early texts KGr. and AR, it seems probable that this development was begun already in late OE (cf. BÜLBR. Bo. Btr XV p. 111 ff.). — For the *-o*-forms of *swelzen* and the *-eo-* & *-o*-forms of *werre* etc., see below §§ 356, 357.

c, d, f, g. The London, WMidl., SW, and Kent. texts have no forms that (necessarily) imply an OE modification by *w-* of a following *ě*. For *wol* etc. (: ON, RGl., VV), *swolzen* etc. (: Prose Ps., OEH, RGl., VV), *werre* etc. (: ON, RGl.), see §§ 355, 356, 357; for the *-a*-form of *swelzen* (: in Ch.), see § 113; [for the *-eo*-forms of *we*, *weren* (in OEH), see § 196; and for the rime *twelve* : *solve* in ON, see § 204, foot-note].

Special cases.

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wel adv.; *welcume*, *-en* adj. & v. (cf. § 350).

An *ö*-vowel is implied by the *wo*-form in GE (cf. § 96); and the same vowel is probably represented by the *wo*-form in ON, VV (: which could also stand for *wö-*, hardly for

w ũ -, cf. §§ 205, 217, 222) and in Man., PP, RGl., (: where *wo-* is used for w ǒ - and w ũ -¹), cf. §§ 76, 86, 212). — This ME w ǒ-form could possibly be derived from an original OE *w ǒl, cf. e. g. OHG *wola* (: which is however regarded by BRAUNE, Gr. § 29 Anm. 4, not as standing in ablaut relation to OHG *wela*, but as developed from *we-* within the OHG language). But the nature of our ME cases makes it probable, not to say practically certain, that we have to do with a weak-stress development of w ǐl (perhaps through w ǒl) > w ǒl. The adv. *wel* was in fact very often used in ME as a mere intensive (= »very», »much») before an adj. or an adv., in which use it was naturally liable to be weakly stressed; and in all cases I have noted, the form *wol* adv. actually occurs in this use (: *wol clane* VV, *wol payed* »pleased» Man., *wol hastiliche*, *wol wyde* RGl., *wol bliðe*, *wol wel*, etc. GE). — Also in *welcume*, -en, *wel-* must to a large extent have been weakly stressed in ME; thus in ON, *wolcumeþ* 3 sg. pres. v. 440, *welcume* adj. v. 1600 (: no other cases occur in ON) have the accent on the second syllable.

It cannot be decided whether this development of *wel* adv. goes back to OE (: where the word is already often used as a mere intensive, cf. BOSW.-TOLLER), or whether it is wholly a ME development. But in any case it evidently took place only in weak stress; and ME *wol* etc. is consequently not quite on a par with other ME *wo-* (& *weo-*)forms of this group.

356 *swelzen* v.

The -o- in O, and the consistent use of the same form in KGr., AR, necessarily imply an OE -o-form (: according

¹) *welcome* in PP may consequently also be derived from (probably weak-stressed) w ǐ-; cf. *wulcumen* La3. (: STRATM.-BRADLEY).

to BÜLBR. QF 63, p. 80, a weak **swolgian*); and the *-o*-forms in the other texts (cf. also the rime to *ō* in Ch.) probably all derive from the same OE form. — For *-eo-* in Tit. and *-a-* in Ch., see above § 354 and § 113 respectively.

werre, *-ien* s. & v. »war» (cf. § 352).

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BÜLBRING (: Bo. Btr XV p. 111 ff.) explains the *weo-* and *wo-*forms of these words in KGr. and AR as cases of *wō* < *wě* (before *-rr-*), and the same explanation would do as well for the *weo-* & *wo-*forms in Tit. and ON. But the frequent *wo-*forms in RG1. (as against only 7 *we-*) make difficulties: they can hardly stand for *wō* -, as there are no (certain) cases in this text of *-o-* for *-eo-* = *ō* < OE *-eo-* or *æ-*; and there are no (certain) cases in any of our ME texts of a change *wō* - > *wö* - or > *wū* (: the form *worre* »worse» in Gaw., Myrc probably has the vowel of *wurse*, cf. § 133). The most satisfactory explanation of the *wo-*forms in RG1. — and in fact of the *weo-* and *wo-*forms in the other texts as well — is this, that *werre* was, at the time of its introduction into (late) OWS, occasionally subjected to »analogical breaking» (cf. for this peculiarity in Scand. loan-words, BJÖRKMAN p. 292, foot-note); i. e. adapted to the OWS speech by introducing the diphthong *ěo* for *ě* (: note that *weor-* is still far more frequent than *wor-* and *wur-* for prim. OE *wě* r + cons. in the late OWS MS. A of the Gospels; cf. below § 401). — It may perhaps be adduced in support of this theory that in all certain cases as yet recorded of ME *wō* - < *wē* -, the consonant following on the vowel is a labial cons. or l, never r (: for *weordenn* in O, and *weo*, *weoren* in OEH, see § 329 and § 196).

358 3. Prim. OE *w* + *ü* / *r* (+ cons.) liable to i-umlaut.*wurde* s.*we(i)r-* a) BB, DEn. (& r.: *afferð* pp.), CM (CE) (~ *wi(i)r-*).*wi(i)r-*, *wyr-* a) CM (CE) (& r.: *bird*, *brid* »lady»; ~ *we(i)r-*)

— d) Gaw.

wyer- c) Ch. (& r.: *hierdes* s. pl.).*wur-* e) Tit.*and wurden* v.*wur-* f) OEH (~ *wr-*).*wr-* f) OEH (~ *wur-*).*wurm* s.*wer-* g) VV (~ *weor-*), KS, Ay.*weor-* g) VV (~ *wer-*).*wir-*, *wyr-* b) PP, B, GE (& *wri-*).*wur-* a) NLeg. — b) O — e) KGr., AR, Tit. — f) WFr., OEH.*wor-* a) CM (CE), Ps., RRPr. (CH) — d) Gaw., Prose Ps.— f) ON, RGl. — g) Sho. (& r.: *storm* s.).Cf. *wrim* b) GE (& *wir-*).*wurp* s.*wur-* e) AR.*wursum* s.*wir-* b) O — e) Tit.*wor-* a) DEn., CM (C).Cf. *wru-* e) AR.*wurt* s.*wur-* b) GE — f) WFr.*wor-* a) DEn (~ *-war-*), Ps. — b) PP — d) Gaw., Prose Ps.

— f) RGl.

-war- a) DEn. (~ *wor-*).

wurzen v.

wer- a) DĒn. (~ *wir-*, *wyr-*).

wir-, *wyr-* a) DĒn. (~ *wer-*), CM (C) — b) PP.

wur- e) AR, Tit.

wor- a) RRPr. (CH) — d) Gaw.

wurc hen v. (cf. above § 7).

wirk(-), *-y-* a) BB, DĒn. (& r.: *dirck* »dark», *irk* v.; ~ *work-*), NLeg. (& r.: *kirk* s.), CM (CĒ) (& r.: *kirc* etc.; cf. *wri-*), Ps., RRPr. (CH) (& r.: *kirk* etc.) — b) O, Man. (& r.: *kirk* etc., *yrk* »slow»; ~ 1 *wirch-*), [Bok., cf. § 98].

wirch-, *-y-* b) Man. (1 case, r.: *chirche*; ~ *wyrk*) — c) Ch. (& r.: *chirche*; ~ 1 *werch-*) — d) Prose Ps. — f) ON (& r.: *chirche*; ~ *wrch-*).

werch- (& *wercst* 2 sg. VV; cf. below) c) Ch. (1 case, r.: *cherche*; ~ *wirch-*), LCh. — g) VV (~ *wurch-*), Ay., Sho. (& r.: *cherche* s.; ~ *worch-*).

wurch- e) KGr., AR, Tit. — f) WFr., OEH, RGl. (& r.: *chirche*) — g) VV (~ *werc(h)-*).

wrch- f) ON (~ *wirch-*).

work- a) DĒn. (1 case; ~ *wirk*).

worch- d) Gaw., Myrc (& r.: *chyrche*) — f) Winch. — g) Sho. (r.: *cherche*; ~ *werch-*).

Cf. *wri(c)k* a) CM (C) (& *wirk*, *-y-*).

For verbal forms with the vowel of *weorc* s., see § 294. — It should be observed that the appearance of *-rk-* (*-rc-*) for *-rch-* in Ch., RGl., Winch., Ay., Sho. (cf. § 294) is not by itself sufficient proof of influence of the subst., because the *-k* may spring, directly or by analogical extension, from OE *c* / cons. in 2 & 3 sg. pres. ind. But as in all the texts in question the vowel of the verbal forms with *-rk-* is also found in the subst., all these forms should no doubt be considered as *d e n o m i n a t i v e*, [but hardly *wercst* 2 sg. in VV, which bears the stamp of an old form]. — On the other hand, all

forms with *-rch-* need not have the vowel of the original verb, as the *-rk-* of a denominative form may quite well have been later supplanted by the *-rch-* of the original verb. This is probably the explanation of *werchen* inf. in GE (~ *-rk-*) and *werche* inf. in Winch. (for *werche* in Ch. cf. § 113); the *worch-* forms of *wurthen* in Winch. and Sho. can also — but need not — be explained in this way.

360 *wurht* s. (: OE (ge)*wyrht*), *-e* s. (: OE *wyrhta*).

wur- e) AR — f) WFr., OEH.

Cf. *wri-*, *-y-* a) Sc.Ch., NLeg., CM — b) O, Man., PP, GE — c) Ch. — e) Tit. — g) VV.

wru- e) KGr.

361 a, b. The Northern and EMidl. texts have *wor-* in *wurm*, *wursum*, *wurt*, *wurzen* (: RRP_r.), *wurthen* (: DEn.); *wur-* in *wurm* (: NLeg., O), *wurt* (: GE); *wir-*, *-y-* (& *wiir-* CM(E)) in *wurde*, *wurm* (: PP, B, GE), *wursum* (: O), *wurzen*, *wurthen*; *we(i)r-* in *wurde*, *wurzen* (: DEn.); *war-* in *wurt* (: DEn.); [and *wri-*, *-y-* in *wurm* (: GE), *wurthen* (: CM(C)), *wurht(e)*, for which see § 369].

All the *wi(i)r-* and *wyr-* forms, except to some extent those of *wurthen* (: as far as they spring from original OE *wīr-*, cf. § 7) and those of *wurde* (: as far as they spring from OE *wȳr* < *wȳr*), evidently represent a development of ONhb and OEm_{erc}. *wȳr-* / cons. > early ME *wīr-*. — The Northern *we(i)r-* forms, whatever their immediate cause, probably also derive from an ONhb *wȳr* - > ME *wīr-* (cf. for *wurde*, LUICK St. p. 183 ff).

The *wor-* forms of *wursum* in DEn., CM(C) may derive from the OE *wōr-* variant of the word, and the isolated *work-* v. in DEn. is probably a loan from the literary language of England (: it might also be a denominative form;

cf. *work* s. in the same text, above § 297); but the Northern and EMidl. *wor-* and *wur-*forms of *wurm*, *wurt*, *wurzen* are probably due to a change $w \check{y} r - > w \check{u} r -$ in these dialects. MORSB. Gr. § 129, Anm. 3, assumes an OE non-umlauted form (with $w \check{u} r -$) as the basis of the ME *wur-* and *wor-*forms of *wurt*; and a similar OE form might with equal right be assumed for *wurm* and, perhaps, *wurzen*. But it would seem very remarkable that the OE $w y r$ -forms of *wurm* and *wurt*, found frequently in all OE dialects, should have been, more or less completely, ousted in early ME by forms totally lacking in the extant OE texts (: the late OWS *wur-*forms are presumably derived from $w \check{y} r -$, cf. BÜLBR. E1. § 280). It is true that there are a few *-u*-forms of *wurt* in the Kent. Gospels — Mt 13/21 (MS. R), Mk 11/20 (MS. R), J 19/41 (MSS. HR); in these instances the late OWS MS. B, the direct source of MS. R (: cf. SKEAT, Preface to St. Luke p. VIII f.), has only *wyr-* — while in all other cases (of *wurt* as of other words) OE $w \check{y} r -$ (< $w \check{u} r + i$ -umlaut) appears as *wir-*, *wyr-*, *wer-* (& *wri-*, *wry-*) in these MSS.; but these *-u*-forms are no doubt loans from the SW dialect (cf. for other cases of *-u-* for OE *-y-* in the Kent. Gospels, REIMANN §§ 13, 14). — On the other hand, a Northern and East Midland ³⁶² change of $w \check{y} r / \text{cons.} > w \check{u} r -$, equivalent to the development in late OWS, ought, it would seem, to have been more regular in its results than the ME forms would imply. It should be observed however that also the OWS $w \check{y} r -$ may have occasionally lived on, unaltered, into ME (cf. § 367); and besides, the conditions for the development of $w \check{y} r - > w \check{u} r -$ were far less favorable in the North and the EMidl. than in the Middle and Western South, where the old $\check{y}$ -vowel was kept for a long time, and consequently the *w*-influence in the present case could be continued and developed in early ME. In the EMidl. on the other hand, as proved by the spellings in Chr. (cf. MORSB. Gr.

§ 129), and probably also in the North, OE $\ddot{y}$ had become $\ddot{i}$ in the first decades of the 12th century, a change which no doubt had begun already towards the end of the OE period. Consequently, and as (practically) only *wyr-* is found in Ri., Li., Ru.², Ru.¹ (: second half of the 10th century), a Northern and EMidl. change of $w \ddot{y} r - /$ cons. $> w \ddot{u} r -$ could take place only during the comparatively short period stretching from the end of the 10th to the end of the 11th century; and it is quite possible that the actual period in question was still more limited. This being the case, it seems perfectly natural that the change $w \ddot{y} r > w \ddot{u} r -$ should not have had time to be consistently carried through. The final victory or preponderance of $w \ddot{u} r -$ in *wurt* and *wurm* is probably due to the frequent use of these words in weak-stressed position (: in compounds), the influence of *w-* having been, it seems, particularly strong in weak stress (cf. OE $w \ddot{a} r -$ § 312, *wið* § 338, *wel* § 355; and further BÜLBR. E1. § 283 Anm. 1). As regards these words there is also the possibility of an influence of the OScand. forms *urt* »wort», *urm* (: ODanish, about A. D. 800, cf. NOREEN Altisl. Gr. § 227, 1, a; ~ usual *orm(r)* »worm»), but there is no way of ascertaining if or to what extent such influence has been at work.

363 The form *banwart* in DEn. (if not merely a scribal error) is probably only a manifestation of the fact that the vowel of $w \ddot{a} r$ in weak stress was pronounced indistinctly (perhaps also with a slight rounding due to *w-*, cf. § 312); and this form tells us nothing as to the ONhb vowel in *wurt*.

364 c. The London texts have *wyer-* in *wurde* (: Ch.); *wer-* in *wurchen* (: Ch., LCh.); *wir-* in *wurchen* (: Ch.); [and *wri-* in *wurht(e)* (: Ch.), cf. § 369]. — *wyerd(e)s* in Ch. (& r.) no doubt derives from Kent. *e-* $< -y-$ (cf. MORSB. Gr. § 131 Anm. 6); perhaps also *werche* inf. in Ch. (: probably introduced by the scribe, cf. § 113) and LCh. — The form *wirche*

(& r.) in Ch. on the other hand is probably of Mercian origin [as also *wrighte*, cf. § 369].

d. The WMidl. texts have *wor-* in *wurm* (: Gaw., Prose 365 Ps.), *wurt* (: Gaw., Prose Ps.), *wurzen* (: Gaw.), *wurchen* (: Gaw., Myrc); and *wir-*, *-y-* in *wurde* (: Gaw.), *wurchen* (: Prose Ps.).

In the WMidl., OE *ŷ* was kept to some extent far into the ME period (cf. § 121 ff.), and consequently we should expect to find the change of *w ŷ r -* / cons. > *w ũ r -* more regularly carried out here than in the EMidl. and the North (cf. § 361 f). This inference is in fact verified by the texts : apart from *wyrde* in Gaw. which probably represents OE *-ȳ-* (cf. § 129), and *wir-*, *wyrchen* etc. in Prose Ps. which may derive from an OMerc. *w ĭ r -* (cf. also the rime to *chyrche* in Myrc, which word always has *-y-*, never *-u-*, *-o-*, in our W Midl. texts), Gaw., Prose Ps., and Myrc have only *wor-* (= *w u r -*) in the words of this group. My material is not sufficiently extensive, however, to justify the conclusion that OWMerc. *w ŷ r -* / cons. is constantly represented by *w u r -*, never by *wir-*, in the (pure) WMidl. dialect. — The total absence of *wor-*forms of the frequent word *wurchen* in Prose Ps. can probably be regarded as a sign that this text represents a more Eastern variety of the WMidl. dialect than Gaw. and Myrc (cf. § 129).

e. The »Saxon-Mercian» texts have *wur-* in *wurde*, *wurm*, 366 *wurp*, *wurzen*, *wurchen*, *wurht(e)* (: AR); *wir-* in *wursum* (: Tit); [and *wru-* in *wursum* (: AR), *wurht(e)* (: KGr.); *wri-* in *wurht(e)* (: Tit.); for which see § 369]. — The isolated *wirsum* in Tit. is evidently a Midland form, probably introduced by the scribe (cf. § 174) and not native in the dialect represented by the »Saxon-Mercian» texts. As to the *wur-*forms, the orthography of the texts leaves it undecided whether they stand for *w u r -* or *w ũ r -*.

- 367 f. The SW texts have *wor-* in *wurm* (: ON, RGl.), *wurt* (: RGl.), *wurchen* (: Winch.); *wur-* (& *wr-*: OEh, ON) in *andwurden* (: OEh), *wurm* (: WFr., OEh), *wurt* (: WFr.), *wurchen* (: WFr., OEh, ON, RGl.), *wurht(e)* (: WFr., OEh); and *wir-* in *wurchen* (: ON).

The *wor-*forms of *wurm*, *wurt*, and if it has not adopted the vowel of the subst. (cf. § 359), the *wor-*form of *wurchen* evidently stand for *wur-*, probably dating, at least in its beginnings, from late OWS. As to the *wur-*forms, they are ambiguous in themselves, because in all texts where they occur *-u-* is used more or less regularly (or frequently) for *ü* (: also after *w*) as well as for *ü*. But *wür-* (not *wür-*) is implied in *wurchen* by the rime to *chirche* in RGl. (: cf. the spelling *churche* e. g. RGl. 7690; and further the (consistent?) *cherche* etc. in Ay., which necessarily presupposes an OE *ȳ*); unless the author used the pronunciation *wir-*. This last pronunciation of *wurchen* — probably derived from late OWS *wir-*, cf. § 7 — is evidently indicated by the form *wirche* in ON (r.: *chirche*); but it remains doubtful whether this is an original form in ON or whether it was introduced by the scribe for an original *wurche* (: *churche*, cf. above).

- 368 g. Apart from VV (for which see below), the Kent. texts have only *wer-* (: in *wurm*, *wurchen*; the latter word could also be classed with B 2, cf. § 7), except for the forms *worche*, *worm* in Sho. — *worche* has probably been introduced by the scribe (cf. § 247), but *worm* is proved by the rime to *storm* (: probably a rime *ü* : *ö*, cf. (?) *worþ* : *forth* § 305) to be an original form in Sho. Since the other (pure) Kent. texts have only *wer-*, which as far as my material goes is also the exclusive OKent. form (cf. § 422), the *wor-*forms (= *wur-*) are probably of OWS > SW origin, either literary loans (by Sho.) or borrowed into the WKent. dialect from the adjoining SW dialect (cf. Cr, § 342).

The «mixed» VV (cf. § 217) has Kent. *wer-* ~ SW *wur-* in *wurthen*; in *wurm* it has Kent. *wer-* ~ *weor-*. This last form is regarded by SCHMIDT pp. 9, 47 as an OWS form copied by the scribe from his original, and this is probably the correct explanation (: cf. BULBR. El. § 280 Anm.), unless *weor-* is simply a scribal error for *wer-*. It does not seem likely that the form represents *wōr- < wēr-* (according to C 2), since there are no other cases of this kind in VV.

Special cases.

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Forms with *wr-* + vowel (: of *wurm*, *wurs m*, *wurthen*, *wurhte*).

According to BULBR. El. § 447 f. (cf. also the form *wurhte* in AR) the vowel of the *wr*-form of *wurhte* is not the original *ŷ* in *w ŷ r-*, but a parasite vowel developed between *r* and the following consonant group; and the same explanation is also applicable to the corresponding forms of *wurm* (: GE), *wurthen* (: CM), and perhaps *wursum* (: AR). It should be observed, however, that the vocalism of the *wr*-forms in all our texts may quite well be explained on the basis of the original vowel, since the *i*-forms of *wurhte* in Tit., Ch., VV are supported by other cases of *-i-* for OE *y* (< *u* + *i*-umlaut) in these texts : cf. for Tit. e. g. the *wir*-form of *wursum*, and for Ch. and VV TEN BRINK § 48 XI, SCHMIDT § 12 b & Anm. 4.

4. Prim. OE *wōr* + cons.

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word s.

wor- a) Sc. Ch., BB (& r.: *herfurde* n. pr.; ~ *wour-*), DEn. (& r.: *bourd* s. (< Fr.); ~ *wour-*), NLeg. (~ *wur-*), CM

(CE) (& r.: *bord* »board», *hord* s., *ord*(e) s., *suord*(e) (& *suerd*), *-word*, *fortd* »forth», *comfortd* s.), Ps. (& r.: *borde* »board», *rorde* s.), RRPr. (CH) — b) O, Man. (& r.: OE *o* / *r d*; cf. § 75), PP, B, GE (~ *wur-*), Bok. (~ *wour-*, *wur-*, cf. § 102) — c) Procl., Ch. (& r.: *bord* »board», *lord*, *hoord* s., *toord* s., *re-corde*, *accorde*), LCh. — d) Gaw., Prose Ps., Myrc (& r.: *bor-des* (< Fr.), *chyrche* *zorde* s.) — e) PM (L) (& r.: *horde* s.), KGr., AR, Tit. — f) WFr., OEH (~ *wur-*, *weor-*), ON (& r.: OE *o* / *r d*; *acorde* s.), RGl., Winch. — g) VV, PM(D) (& r.: OE *o* / *r d*), Ay., Sho. (& r.: *lorde* s., *accord* s.).

wour- (& *-ow-*) a) BB (~ *wor-*), DĒn. (& r.: *bourd* s. (< Fr.); ~ *wor-*) — b) Bok. (~ *wor-*, *wur-*, cf. § 102).

wur- a) NLeg. (& r.: *burd* »board»; ~ *wor-*) — b) GE (~ *wor-*), Bok. (~ *wor-*, *wour-*, cf. § 102) — f) OEH (1 case; ~ *wor-*, *weor-*).

weor- f) OEH (~ *wor-*, *wur-*).

371 *worden*, -*r den* pp.

wor- a) BB, DĒn. — f) WFr. (~ *wur-*), ON (& r.: *worde* s.; ~ *wur-*).

wur- b) O, B — e) AR, Tit. — f) WFr. (~ *wor-*), ON (& r.: *borde* s. »board»; ~ *wor-*) — g) VV.

Here may also be mentioned *i-weorden* pl. pt. ind. OEH (cf. § 196).

worpen pp.

wor- b) O, GE — e) AR — f) ON — g) VV.

wur- e) Tit. (& *war-*).

[*war-* e) KGr., Tit. (~ *wur-*) — f) OEH; cf. above § 311].

Here may also be counted *worpen* pl. pt. ind. GE (cf. § 95).

372 *wroht*(e) pt. & pp.

worht pp. a) CM (C) (1 case; r.: *noht*; ~ usual *wro-*).

iweorht pp. f) OEH (& *war-*).

[*war-* f) OEH. — Cf *wra-* e) KGr., Tit. — f) OEH, ON (& r.: *hazte* pt.); cf. the *war*-form of *worpen* pp. and the references given § 311].

Otherwise our texts present only the form *wro(u)-*; cf. the corresponding forms of *wurhte* etc. §§ 360, 369.

a. The Northern *wor*-forms of *word*, *worden* (: *worht* 373 CM (C) is probably miswritten for *wroht*, cf. the rime) no doubt spring from the regular ONhb *wor*-form (with $\ddot{o}$ or $\bar{o}$); the spelling of the texts is not conclusive, but the rimes in CM (especially : *comfortd* s.) and Ps. — though it must be admitted that rime-words with $\ddot{u}$ r d were scarce — distinctly point to an o-vowel, which if existing in these texts must of course spring from an ONhb o-form. On the other hand, the *wur-* and *wour-*forms of *word* in NLeg., BB, DEn., (cf. *wurth* etc. v., -*wurth* etc. adj. in NLeg., see B 4) as well as the rime : *bourd* (< Fr.) in DEn. — especially since *word* is rimed with no other words in this text — evidently indicate an u-vowel (or a vowel resembling u) in the language of these texts. This u-vowel could of course be derived from ONhb $w\ddot{o}r-$ + w-influence (in late OE or early ME); but most probably it springs from ONhb $w\bar{o}r d$, being either an instance of the general Northern development of OE $\bar{o}$ (cf. for the use of *u*, *ou* for OE $\bar{o}$ in our texts, LUCK St. pp. 48 f., 95, 108), in which case the rimes : *bourd* would not be exactly correct (cf. LUCK U. § 124 ff., St. p. 127), or due to an earlier shortening of $\bar{o}$ (cf. the E Midl. dialect, below).

b. As to the EMidl. *wor*-forms of *word*, *worpen*, those in 374 O, B, GE are proved by the orthography of these texts (cf. §§ 64, 90, 96) to spring from the (exclusive) OMerc. o-forms; and these are no doubt also the basis of the *wor*-forms in

the other EMidl. texts (cf. also the rimes in Man.). The consistent spelling *word* in O (~ one *wordd*? Cf. § 63) indicates a long vowel, probably a direct continuation of an OMerc. $\bar{o} < \ddot{o} / rd$. The same OMerc. $\bar{o}$ -form is probably also the basis of the *wur*- and *wour*-forms of *word* in GE and Bok. (cf. also the spellings in Man., HS, § 75), the spelling *-u*- being sometimes used in both these texts in words with certain OE $\bar{o}$: — GE *munendai* 72, *muste* 2624, *bihuflik* 4108 (cf. GADOW ON § 56); perhaps also (if not due to the analogy of pres. pl.) *sulde(n)* pt. »should» 172, 175, etc. (numerous; ~ *so*-), and (if not due to the analogy of *s(h)ulde* or more probably still, to a weak-stress development of $w\ddot{o} - > w\ddot{u}$, cf. § 183, foot-note) *wulde(n)* pt. »would» 214, 726, etc. (~ *wo*-; cf. § 96); — Bok. (pp. 1-36, 159-266, cf. § 98) *furth(-wyth)* 9/29, 159, etc. (numerous (: usual form); the comp. has *fer*-, e. g. 9/260), *must* pres. 1/1053, 12/304 (: *lust* s.), *suth*, *-ly* 9/270, 10/632 (~ -oo- 13/310, ~ -o-), *ruth* s. »root» 12/50 (: *h* is often redundant in the MS.), *forsuke* pt. sg. 13/39, 1065, *stude* pt. »stood» 13/206 (~ *stode* 13/1055 ~ -oo-), and perhaps (if not due to the analogy of pres. pl.) *durst* pt. P 184, *shuld(e)* pt. (passim; only form); from pp. 37-159 HOOFE (p. 234) further quotes *suth*, *-ly*, *-fastnes* (10), *forsuk* pt. (3), *tuk(e)* pt. (2). — The nature of these cases, however, gives the impression that we have to do, not with an $\bar{u}$ -vowel, as assumed by HOOFE p. 233 f.¹⁾, but with an $\ddot{u}$ -vowel due to shortening; not necessarily, however, of an $\bar{u} < \bar{o}$, as suggested by LUTCK U. § 134. If a shortening of OE $\bar{o}$ took place in the 13th century, when this vowel, as indicated by the subsequent change $> \bar{u}$ in the Standard language, was probably a very close

¹⁾ The rimes adduced in proof by HOOFE l. c., i.e. *doon*, *noon*: *deuocyoun*, *tuyccoun* (2); *behoue* s., *proue*, etc.: *aboue*, *loue* (10) are not conclusive. *aboue*, *love* probably have $\bar{o} < \ddot{u}$ in open syllable, and the rimes to *deuocyoun* etc. are too few to allow of any definite conclusion.

ō-vowel in the EMidl. dialect, the resulting short vowel could not coincide with OE ǫ, which by that time was an open o-vowel (: cf. the $\bar{o}$ resulting from its lengthening in open syllables before A. D. 1250), but only with OE ŭ. This development would be exactly parallel to the ME change $\bar{e} > \text{y}$ (cf. LUICK St. p. 190 ff.), and a natural complement to the ME change $\text{y} > \bar{o}$ in open syllables (cf. LUICK U., St.). It is true that the open quality of OE ŭ, as proved by this change $\text{y} > \bar{o}$, does not appear in the Shb dialects (cf. LUICK U. § 520) till much later than in Nhb (where it must have existed already in the 13th century, cf. LUICK U. § 517 ff.); but ŭ was no doubt open enough, in the EMidl. dialect of the 13th century, to be much nearer related in quality to the shortened OE $\bar{o}$ than to OE ǫ. — The comparative frequency of *u*-forms of *word* (and *forth*) in GE and Bok. may imply that the *u*-quality of the resulting short vowel was augmented by a preceding *w*- (or *f*).

The *wur*-form of *worden* pp. in O, B, could possibly be 375 explained in the same way (: cf. *wulde*, -*es* pt. in B). But this form probably has -*u*- from pl. & 2 sg. pt. ind. (and sg. & pl. pt. opt.), as seems to be the case with the SW forms (cf. below § 379). The strength of the original *wur*-form in the EMidl. dialect is shown by the analogical form *wurð* etc. 1 & 3 sg. pt. ind. in B (1 case) and GE (numerous).

c, d. The spelling in the London texts and the WMidl. 376 texts (: only *word* occurs, and only with *wor*-) is not conclusive. Chaucer's rimes, however, distinctly point to an o-vowel, no doubt derived from an OE o-form (with ǫ or $\bar{o}$); Myrc's rimes : *bordes* (< Fr.) on the other hand indicate an u-vowel, which may have the same origin as in the EMidl. *wur*-variant.

g. (: except VV, for which see § 378 f.). Also the 377 spelling in the pure Kent. texts — only *word* occurs; ex-

clusively with *-o-* — tells us nothing as to the original *o-* or *u-*quality of the vowel of the OE basis. But the rimes in PM (D) and — as far as they may be trusted, cf. §§ 237, 305 — in Sho. point to an *o*-vowel. — There is no trace of an *u*-vowel, early or late, in our Kent. texts.

378 **e, f (& g : VV)**¹⁾. The *wor*-forms in these texts (: *word*, *worden*, *worpen*) probably all derive from OE *o*-forms. Conclusive in this respect are the *wor*-forms in KGr., AR, Tit., WFr., and practically (cf. §§ 153, 197, 205, 222) PM (L), OEH, ON, VV; the rimes in PM (L) and ON, especially *worde* : *acorde* in the latter text, point in the same direction. Here may also be included the forms *weord* etc., *iweorht*, perhaps also *i-weorden* pl. pt. ind., in OEH (cf. §§ 196, 198). — An OWS *-u*-form on the other hand is indicated only by the isolated *wur*-form of *word* in OEH (for *wur*-forms of *worden*, *worpen*, cf. below), which, however, may quite well be a mere scribal error (for *wor-*), especially as the orthography of this text is far from regular (cf. § 190). The absence of rimes *word* : *-ord* in RG1. certainly seems to imply that *word* had only an *u*-vowel in the pronunciation of the author; but in this comparatively late text the *u*-vowel may be due to a ME development of the same kind as appears in GE and Bok. (cf. above § 374). The fact that (: according to PABST § 28) OE *ō* appears in RG1. (MSS. A & B) only as *-o-*, proves nothing to the contrary, since the same symbol is also used for (OE) *ū* in the greater number of the cases (: PABST § 32). — It may be asserted, consequently, that there are no certain signs of a ME continuation of a late OWS *w ū r* - < *w ō r* - / cons. (according to BÜLBR. El. § 281).

¹⁾ It is convenient in the present case to discuss the forms of all these texts together, because they include (practically) all forms that may trace back to OWS.

The *wur*-forms of *worden* pp., *worpen* pp. in AR, Tit., 379 WFr., ON, VV certainly indicate an OE *wur*-. But on account of the (practically) total absence of *wur*-forms of *word* it does not seem probable that these *wur*-forms (: note especially the great frequency of *wurden* etc. pp.) are a continuation of a late OWS *wŭr*- < *wŏr*- / cons. In my opinion there can be little doubt that they have adopted the vowel of the pl. & 2 sg. pt. ind. (and sg. & pl. pt. opt.), a levelling probably due to the analogy of verbs of the same class with *nasa* l + cons. (: OE *bindan* etc.) and perhaps begun already towards the end of the OE period: the late OWS *gewurden* pp., found in the WS Gospels, MSS. Cp & B (together 5 times) may or may not be a case of this kind (cf. § 426). BÜLBR. QF 63 p. 121 holds an extension of »dem schwachen Plur.-Ablaut« to the pp. improbable; but the »Plur.-Ablaut« does not seem to have been insignificant in early ME. As BÜLBRING himself points out, op. cit. pp. 118, 120, the early ME SW texts (up to the middle or perhaps the end of the 13th century) keep the regular pl. pt. forms practically intact; and moreover, the levelling in question was no doubt begun before the date of our earliest ME texts. Apart from these considerations, some at least of the pp. forms quoted by BÜLBR. op. cit. p. 121 (e. g. *unforgulden* «PM. HS. J 59», *byswulte* «r EE», *ischuven* «AR») can hardly have their *u* (for OE *o*) from any other source; a phonetic development of *o* > *u* / (*r*), *l*, *v*, as suggested by BÜLBR. l. c., would seem to be out of the question.

CHAPTER III.

380 Survey of OE and ME dialect distinctions.

The OE dialect distinctions as regards the words which are the subject of the present investigation were in many cases effaced already during the period of transition into ME. But in other cases they remained, in some form or other, in the ME period; and sometimes also new dialect distinctions were developed, either resulting from the general phonetic development of each dialect, or from causes of a more accidental or at any rate less general and well-defined action. The ME dialect distinctions of the last-mentioned description only afford what I have termed — for want of a better word — relative dialect criteria (: which consequently are based only on the actual distribution of the ME forms); those deriving from OE and those produced later by the general phonetic development of each dialect, may on the other hand be used as absolute dialect criteria in ME. — The relative ME dialect criteria need of course the corroboration of more extensive investigations of ME texts before they can be safely relied upon. Besides, the evidence of the modern dialects would obviously be of special importance in the matter of these criteria; but for reasons stated above in the Preface I have as a rule left the modern dialect forms out of consideration for the present.

A. Prim. OE *ne* + *w ĭ* > *n ǃ*.

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In OE the words of this class have regularly *ny-* (< *ne* + *w ĭ*-), which also could appear as *ne-* in the OKent. dialect according to the general change of *y* > *e* (in literary times) in this dialect [: the only OKent. forms of this class I have noted are *nylle* KChart. 41 (3 cases), *netenes*, *-esse* s. KGl. (2 cases)]. Beside these regular OE forms (incl. 3 cases of *-wi-*, *-ui-* for *-y-* in Li.) there occur however a number of other forms : *nuton*, *-un* etc. pl. pres. ind. Ri., Li. (incl. *neu-*, *nuu-*), Ru². [all evidently < *ne* + *wuton* etc., cf. below § 391]; *neoton* pl. pres. ind. VPs. (1), *niton* pl. pres. ind. Ru.¹ (1) [both probably due to the analogy of non-contracted forms]; and the frequent *ne-* (& *næ-*) forms of **nillan* — often found in ONhb and (especially late) OWS (: MSS. Cp & A of the OWS Gospels constantly have *ne-*, except for *nylla* δ L 19/14 in Cp), rarely in OMerc. (: only *nella* β once in Ru¹.; no case in VPs.) — which no doubt originate in a contraction of *ne* + *we-* (& *wæ-*) forms of *willan*, found in ONhb and (more rarely) OMerc. texts (cf. SIEVERS Gr. § 428 Anm. 4) [but not in pure OWS (where *we-* had probably been ousted by the *wi-* forms) or in OKent.].

In the course of phonetic development, the ONhb, OMerc., 382 and OWS *n ǃ*-forms would regularly give, in early ME, Northern and EMidl. *n ĭ* -, WMidl. *n ĭ* - ~ *n ũ* -, SW *n ũ* -; and the OKent *n ǃ*- & *n ě*-forms ME *n ě* - (in pure Kent. texts). It appears however from the above survey of the OE forms that the ME *ne*-forms of **nillan* cannot be used as a b s o l u t e dialect criteria, except perhaps as regards the (E)Midl. dialect (cf. the OMerc. forms, above), which — apart from Man., cf. § 251 — actually reveals only *ni-* (& *ny-*) forms as far as my material goes. The absence of *ne*-forms in our Northern texts counts for little, since **nillan* occurs only in two of these comparatively late texts. —

ME *ne*-forms of **niten* on the other hand may — if we disregard the isolated *neoton* in VPs. (cf. above) — be considered as an absolute criterion of Kent. origin (n. b. in texts where *-e-* for earlier *-i-* (= ĭ) does not occur); and such *ne*-forms are actually found only in our Kent. texts. — ME *nu-* (& *no-*)forms of **nillen* are evidently absolute criteria of SW (< OWS) or WMidl. (< OWMerc.) origin, as far as they really derive, phonetically, from the corresponding OE forms; and apart from Ay., for which see § 252, these *nu-* (& *no-*)forms actually appear only in our SW and »Saxon-Mercian» texts. ME *nu*-forms of **niten* on the other hand could come not only from OWS *ny*-forms but also from the ONhb *nu*-forms (cf. above); but as there are no traces of these latter forms in our Northern ME texts, the ME *nu*-forms of **niten* afford a very efficient relative criterion of SW or WMidl. origin. Such forms are in fact found only in our SW and »Saxon-Mercian» texts. — As to the ME *ni-* (& *ny-*)forms, their usefulness as a dialect criterion is lessened — besides by the (occasional) occurrence of ME *-i-* for OE *y* outside the North and Midland — by the circumstance that *ni*-forms were apt to be caused, in OE (cf. *niton* in Ru.¹, above) and above all in ME, by the analogy of non-contracted forms; especially by those of *witen* (for *wil* pres., cf. §§ 381, 417) of which word *wi-* is, apart from the OE *-ā-* form, with few exceptions (cf. § 280) the only OE form continued into ME. It is no doubt this circumstance that has caused the *ni-* (& *ny-*)forms of **niten* in our Kent. texts (cf. § 252), which forms consequently do not derive directly from OE *n ĭ-* (> ME *n ĭ-*)forms. — In our SW (and »Saxon-Mercian») texts there are no *ni-* (& *ny-*)forms; but this fact can only be regarded as a relative, not as an absolute dialect criterion.

B. Prim. OE $w +$ vowel liable to breaking or 383 u/o-umlaut.

1. Prim. OE $w\ddot{i} + h$.

In the OAngl. dialects the »smoothing» of the diphthong resulting from the breaking of $\ddot{i}$ evidently took place in words of this group (as well as in corresponding words of groups B 2, B 3) before the change of $w\ddot{u} > w\ddot{u} -$, since there are no *wu*-forms of this group found in the ONhb and OMerc. texts. Also in the OWS and OKent. dialects the diphthong due to breaking of $\ddot{i}$ was monophthongized to $\ddot{i}$ (: in OWS through the stages of $\ddot{ie}$, $\ddot{y}$) / ht , hs ($> x$);¹⁾ but as this change was comparatively late — in OKent. at any rate it was not completed until literary times — the influence of *w-* had plenty of time to assert itself. Now, *wu*-forms of the words of this group (incl. *betwuh*, *ux(n)*) are actually found only in OWS texts; but in view of the presupposed OKent. $w\ddot{u}$ ($< w\ddot{u}-$) in groups B 2, B 3 (cf. §§ 387, 396) it seems probable that such *wu*-forms were developed also in this group in the Kent. dialect. If we adopt this view,

¹⁾ But not / final h and / $x < ks < sk$. Consequently the frequent *eo-* (*iu-*, *io-*) forms *betweoh*, *betweox* (: with the vowel of *betweoh*, cf. BÜLBR. El. § 520), etc. in OWS. texts — in OKent. I have found only the regular *betwix* ($< *isk$) (1 case) and *bctwi*... (for *-ih* or *-ioh*?) KGL. 241 (where even the *-i-* is scarcely legible, cf. ZUPITZA l. c.) — are quite regular, even in case they derive from $-t w\ddot{i}h$ (cf. the frequent OWS *betwuh*, *-ux(n)*, which probably derive from this form) and not from the original $-t w\ddot{i}h$ ($> -t w\ddot{e}oh$). — The isolated *betwih* in Or. (cf. COSIJN), if not simply miswritten, may be an unbroken form (: $-i\bar{h}$) or else either an Anglian loan or due to some kind of analogy. — In ONhb and OMerc. texts I have found only *-twih* (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 196) and (in Ru¹.) *betwix* [2 cases $\sim betwih$ (*-ig*), *betwih*s (*-ihc*) (8 cases)]; but as proved by the OAngl. *bituēn* (BÜLBR. El. § 199 b), an OAngl. $*betwēh$, $-twēx$ etc. would also be phonetically possible.

we must account for the actual absence of OKent. *wu*-forms either by the scanty of OKent. texts, or by supposing that the original Kent. *wu*-form was ousted by the *wio*- and *wi*-variants already in pre-literary times. As there are no traces in our ME texts of an OKent. *wu*-form of this kind, the latter alternative is certainly the preferable one.

- 384 The matter consequently stands thus, that apart from the words *betweoh* (~ *-ih*), *betweox* (≈ *-ix*), etc., for which see the foot-note on p. 227, the words of this group had in late OE, *wu*- ~ *wi*- (~ *wy*-: with *ȳ* or *ȳ* ? Cf. § 418) in the WS dialect, and in the others only *wi*-. It follows that ME *wu*-forms of this group are an absolute criterion of the SW (< OWS) dialect (or of influence of the OWS > SW dialect); and except for Chr. and O whose language presents other signs of OWS > SW influence (cf. §§ 55, 60), it is actually only in our SW and »Saxon-Mercian» texts that such *wu*-forms appear. — ME *wi*- (& *wy*-) and *we*-forms on the other hand are useless as dialect criteria.

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2. Prim. OE *wīr* + cons.

In the OAngl. dialect the *īu* due to the breaking of *ī* was universally changed to *ū* through the influence of *w* - in all words of this group where it was not »smoothed» back to *ī* (: *wircan*, cf. § 7; *swira* s., cf. § 266) before the time of the *w*-influence (cf. above B 1); and this *ū* was later changed to *ȳ* by the still active *i*-umlaut. In fact, *wyr*- is — apart from the *wir*-forms due to »smoothing», and occasional scribal errors — the only form¹⁾ found in the ONhb

¹⁾ I disregard here the analogical forms recorded above, § 268 ff.

and OMerc. texts referred to above, § 15. For the further development of this OAngl. $w\ddot{y}r- > ME\ w\ddot{ir}-$ and $ME\ w\ddot{u}r-$ — which developments quite probably began before the end of the OE period — see above, §§ 262 f., 361 f., 365.

The OWS dialect has *wier-*, *wyr-*, *wir-* (< *wier-*) in 386 early texts (i. e. those investigated by COSIJN, cf. above § 15). Of these forms *wier-* was changed into *wyr-* (: BÜLBR. El. § 273); and *wir-* (unless it was changed to *wyr-* by the influence of *w-* and *-r-*) seems to have been dropped at an early date at least in pure OWS, since MSS. Cp and A of the OWS Gospels (cf. above § 15) have only¹⁾ *wyr-* and its later representative *wur-* (cf. above § 1, foot-note 2). — According to the generally accepted theory (: cf. SIEVERS Gr. § 100, 1; BÜLBR. El. § 273) this early OWS *wyr-* has been developed exclusively from *wier-* (which latter is due to i-umlaut of the diphthong produced by the breaking of *ī*); and this theory is tenable enough, especially as an early OWS change $w\ddot{ie}r- > w\ddot{y}r-$ is well established by the words belonging to group B 6. But it should be remembered that since the *wyr-*forms appear as early as the *wier-*forms, they may quite well be derived from OWS $w\ddot{i}ur- > w\ddot{u}r- + i\text{-umlaut}$; and with regard to the other dialects — of which the Kent. is in no way more addicted to monophthongization of $w\ddot{i}u > w\ddot{u}$ — than the OWS — it does not seem safe to deny the existence of a $w\ddot{y}r-$ of this origin in the OWS dialect. Besides, the existence of an (alternative) OWS *wyr-* of this origin would explain the fact that the *wyr-*forms of words of this group are very numerous in early OWS [COSIJN records 141 *wyr-*forms: *wyrs*, -a comp. (25), *wyrst*, *wyrrest* sup. (5), (-)*wyrðe* etc. adj. & adv. (70), *wyrðig* (1), (-)*wyrpð* (4), (-)*wyrð*, *wyrðest*, *wyrst* (35), *sweyra* s. (1), and finally (cf. above § 265, foot-note) *þweyres* adv. (4);

¹⁾ I disregard here the analogical forms recorded above, § 268 ff.

as against 157 *wier*-forms: *wiers*, -a (18), *wierst*, *wierrestan* (3), (-)*wierðe* etc. (52), *gehwierfð* (1), *towierpð* (11), (for)-*wierð* (72); and 28 *wir*-forms: *wirs*, -a (5), *wirrestan* (1), *wirðe* adj. (1), *gehwirfð* (1), (to)*wirpð* (2), *wirð* (14), *swiran* s. (4)]; — while the early OWS *wyr*-forms of words of group B 6 (which *wyr*- can only derive from *wier*-) are very few [COSIJN records only 12 cases: (-)*hwyrfan* (9), *awyrgeð* pp. (1), *wyrnan* v. (2); as against 87 *wier*-forms: (a)*wierdan* v. (4), (-)*hwierfan* (33), (a)*wiergan* (26), (for)*wiernan* (21), (ge)*wierpan* v., *wierp* s. (3); and 24 *wir*-forms: *gewird* pp. (1), (-)*hwirfan* (11), *awirgean* (3), (for)*wirnan* (9); (and 8 *wer*-forms: (-)*hwerfan* v. & (-)*hwerfnes* s. (5), *se awergða* (1), *forwernan* (1), *werpe* s. (1))].

387 The OKent. dialect has beside *wer*-forms, which evidently derive from *wīur*- > *wūr*- (+ i-umlaut) > *wyr*- (> *wer*-), also a number of *weor*-forms (cf. above § 265), which however may all have analogical *weor*- < *wēr*- and consequently cannot prove the existence in OKent. (= in OWS) of a non-monophthongized *wīur*- (< *wīr*-) after the time of the i-umlaut. But such an OKent. form — which may have become monophthongized already before the end of the OE period — is made practically certain by the ME Kent. *wor*-forms of *wurse*, *wurst*, etc. (see above § 265).

388 It appears from what has been said above that in late OE, apart from the OAngl. *wir*- due to »smoothing», the Angl. and WS dialects had *wyr*-, which with more or less regularity changed to *wur*- in latest OWS and to some extent also in latest OAngl.; while the Kent. dialect had *wer*- (< *wyr*-) and presumably also *weor*- (< *wīur*-), which latter form was later — perhaps already in (latest) OKent. — made monophthongic (: *wur*- or *wor*-?) through the influence of *w*-.

389 Consequently, ME forms pointing to late OE *wur*- can in no case — except for words liable to OAngl. »smoothing»,

of which however no certain cases of this kind occur in our ME texts — be of any use as absolute dialect criteria. Further, the dialect distinguishing power of the OKent. *w*-forms has to a great extent been lost in ME, partly by the frequent substitution of the native vowel in *wurse*, *wursen*, *wurst* for the e-vowel of the corresponding Scand. form (cf. above § 267) and by the uncertainty as to the origin of the vowel in some forms (cf. above, § 268 ff.), partly by the occasional use, especially in late texts, of *-e-* for earlier *-i-* (= *ī*). — On the other hand the ME *wir-* (& *wyr-*) forms may — if we disregard the occurrence of *-i-* for *-y-* in certain late OWS texts whose usage in this particular does not seem to have been to any great extent continued into ME (cf. BÜLBR. El. §§ 161 Anm. 2, 163 Anm., 306 Anm. 4, 307 Anm. 1) — be accepted as absolute criteria of Angl. origin. Such forms occur in fact only in our Northern and Midl. texts and — in the case of *swire*, cf. § 266 — in the »Saxon-Mercian» KGr., AR., Tit.

3. Prim. OE *w* + *ī* liable to u/o-umlaut.

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As I cannot agree with BÜLBRING's statements (El. § 264) regarding the OE *w*-monophthongization in words of this group, I give below the cases of prim. OE *w* + *ī* liable to u/o-umlaut that occur in the most important OE texts (cf. above § 15).

ON h b. Ri. *wuta*, *-on*, *-að*, *-as* inf., pl. pres. ind. & imp. (8) 391
 [note: pres. opt. & pres.p. only *wi-*]; *nuton* pl. pres. ind.
 (2); *giwuta* inf. (1; MS. *giva*); *giwuta* adj. (1); *wuðwuto* s. pl.

»seniores» (1); *wuted*, -lice (the latter often abbreviated) (numerous). — *twiggo* s. pl. (2); *cwico*, -um adj. pl. (4); *eswico* s. pl. (strong) (1); *eswicum* s. pl. (weak) (1). — (-) *cwido* s. pl. (2); *swiþpum* dat. pl. (1), *sywiþa* pl. (1; = *sui* -?), ~ *s(w)ypþa*, -o pl. (2).

Li. *wudu*(-) (4; incl. *udu* Mt 3/4); (*alda*) *wuta* s. (14); *uð-wuta* s. (59); *wutum* interj. (9); (-) *wuta* etc. inf., pl. pres. ind. & imp. (numerous) [note: pres. opt. & pres. p. only *wi*-]; *nuton*, -un, etc. pl. pres. ind. (16; incl. *neu*- (1) and several *nuu*-); *wu*-, *utedlice* (numerous, incl. different abbreviations and spellings *u*-, *uu*-, etc., probably all = *wu*-. Cf. *wuo*-(3), *wo*-(1), *woe*-(1), all in Mt). — Cf. *su^uopa* s. (< *swio-pa*?) J (1). — *weototlice* Mt 3/16, *wiototlice*, -et- Mt 2/3, 10. (?) *ædw^uiton* pl. pt. Mt 27/44 (: FOLEY p. 36). — *twiga* »bis» (3); *wicu*, -a (2); *cwico* adj. pl. (1), -að 3 sg. pres. ind. (2); *eswica* s. (weak) (6); *eswica* s. pl. (strong) (1) — *eftedwidon* pl. pt. ind. (1); *edwitadon* pl. pt. ind. (ĩ or ī ?); *witteð* 2 pl. pres. ind. L 21/30, *gewite* inf. Mt I 4/5; *widwa* (17); *swiþpum* (1); *geswiþernisse* (1; altered in the MS. from -*wio*-); -*cwiðum* dat. pl. (3).

Ru². *æt harawuda* n. pr. (1); (*uð*-) *wuta* s. (35); *wuta*, -að, -as, -on, -un inf., pl. pres. ind. & imp. (46) [note: pres. opt. only *wi*-]; *nutun*, -on plur. pres. ind. (4); *wutum*, -un interj. (2); *wutudlice* (very numerous), -od- (1). — *swioþa*, -um s. (2); *giswiopornisse* (1). — *twiga*, -e »bis» (2); *twigu*, -o s. pl. (5); *wica* s. (1); *cwicu*, -um (2), *gicwicað* (1); *eswicu* (1). — *edwitadon* pl. pt. ind. (ĩ or ī ?) (1); *wittas* pl. pres. ind. (1); *witudlice* (2); *widwe* (9), -uwe (2); *soðcwíðum* (1).

Cf. also in *derawuda* Bede's History 334 (Moore MS., of about A.D. 737: SWEET OET).

392 O Merc. VPs. *wuda* gen. & dat. sg., gen. & acc. pl. (10). — *uðwiotan* s. pl. (1). — *uðweotan* s. pl. (1); *geweota*, -an s. »testis» (2); *weotudlice* adv. (4); *weotun*, -að, -endum v. (5)

[note: pres. opt. & sg. imp. only *wi-*]; *neoton* (< *ne* + *w ǣ o-*) (1); *geweotun* pl. pt. ind. (1); *bisweocun* pl. pt. ind. (1); finally (or quite possibly < prim. OE *w ǣ -*) *sweotullice* (1), *gesweotulad* pp. (1), and the scribal errors *gesweolades* 2 sg. pt. ind. (1), *gesweocoðade* pt. (1), *gesweocelad* pp. (1). — *twigu* s. pl. (2); *eswicum* dat. pl. (1) (MS. - *sp-*); *gecwica*, -*ad(e)* imp., pp. (3). — *widwe* s. (6).

Ru¹. *wude bendum* dat. pl. »woodbine» (1), *wuduhunig* (2); *uðwutu*, -*um* s. pl. (2); *wutu*, *hwute* interj. (3); *wutudlice* (6); *wutan* pl. pres. ind. (2) [note: pres. opt. & pres p. only *wi-*]; *swuster* s. (2). — *wiotudlice* (16). — *weotudlice* (2). — *geswicu* s. pl. (1); *æswiceþ*, -*ēþ*, -*að* v. (3) [-*ende* (1)]; *twigaþ* pl. pres. ind. »hesitare» (1). — *ætweitun* pl. pt. ind. (1); *witan*, -*aþ* pl. pres. ind. & imp.; (4), *wite ge* imp. (1); *niton* pl. pres. ind. (1); *hearmcwidele* adj. pl. (1); *widuwana* gen. pl. (1); *gewitu* s. pl. »testis» (2); *witudlice* (1).

O W S [1] Early OWS : texts as stated above § 15; be- 393
sides Charters Nos. 20, 45 in SWEET, OET (: other texts given
as OWS by SWEET OET present no forms belonging here);
2) late OWS : MSS. Cp & A of the WS Gospels].

1) *wudu*, -*a* H C Or. (10), *wuda* dat. sg. Chart. 20 (1); *wuduwanhad* H (1); *swutul*, -*ol* H C (12); *wuton* »age» H (1) ~ *uton* Or. (2); *wutan* »sapientes» C (1); *gewuta* (»conscious») H (2); *tuw(w)a*, *tua* (»twice») H C Or. Chr. (8); *wucan*, -*ena* s. pl. C Or. (2); *gecwuca* imp. H (1), *cucum*, *a*, - *ne*, *re*, -*e*, *an* H (1), Or. (10); (-)*swugian*, etc. H C (21) ~ (-)*sugian* etc. H C Or. (6); *hwæt-*, *hwelchwugu* H C (passim), Or. (1) ~ *hwæthugu*, -*huguningas* H C (3) (: SIEVERS Gr. § 105,1). — *Sealwyda* n. pr. »Selwood» (1 case, Chr., A. D. 878 ; < *w ǣ -*, cf. § 417; regularly non-umlauted, cf. BÜLBR. El. § 235). — *wioton*, -*ona* s. pl. H Chr. (5); *gewiota* s. C (3); *wiotan*, -*on*, -*onne* v. H C (7); *wiotodlice* H C Or. (6); *swiostor* Or. (1); *swiotolu sð* H (1) (or < *sw ǣ -*?); *Wiogora ceaster* H (1). — *wordgecweodu*

s. pl. Chart. 45/12; (ge)weotan, -um s. pl. Chart. 45 (3), Or (2); weotan v. H (1); sweocolan adj. H (1). — (ge)sweostor Or. Chr. (4), sweotul, -ol, etc. HC Or. (26), and gesweotolad Or. (1) may also have prim. OE w ǣ -. — cwicum dat. pl. C (1); beswicolan, -ulan adj. HC (2); (be)swicon pl. pt. H Or. (4); wican, -um s. H Chr. (2); twigu »virgulta» HC (5); (-)swigað, -ode H C (6) [(-)swigi(ge)an, -iað, i(g)e(n) H C (9), Or. (1)]. — spellcwidum s. pl. Or. (1); hwiða s. H (1), witan, -um, -ena »senatores» C Or. (6); gewita, -an »testis» H C (3); witan inf. H C Or. (16), to witanne, -enne, -onne, H C Or. (13), witað pl. pres. ind. H (1), -an, -on H C Or. (23) [cf. witende pres. p. H Or. (5), wite, -en pres. opt. (passim)]; witodlice H C (8); bewitan, -anne »curare» H Or. (3); witan »imputabant» Or. (1); gewiton »irent» Or. Chr. (2). — wiecan s. Chr. (1). — wietena gen. pl. H Or. (2); gewietan s. pl. »testis» H (1); wietan inf. H C (11), to wietanne, -enne, -onne H C (14), wietað C (1), -on, -un H C (6); wietodlice H (3) [cf. wiete, -en pres. opt. (passim)].

- 394 2) wotodlice L 8/50 (Cp). — wudu(-)hunig Cp A (2); wudewe, -uwa, etc. Cp A (12), A (2); swutol, -el adj. Mk 6/14 (Cp A); (ge)swutelian, -ulude, etc. v. Cp A (36), Mt 26/73 (Cp); tuwa Cp A (2); swustor, -er, -ra etc. Cp A (16); (-)wucan, -on L 18/12 (A), A (:Rubrics) (94) ~ ucan L 18/12 (Cp), A (:Rubrics) (5); uto, -un interj. Cp A (18); samcucene adj. L 10/30 (Cp A); geedcucude etc. pt. L 15/24, 32 (Cp A); gesuwa, -iende, -edon etc. Cp A (7), Cp (8). — gesweotolað Mt 26/73 (A) may also derive from prim. OE w ǣ -. — wydewan, -ena L 20/47, 21/2 (Cp); cwy(d)dum s. pl. Mt 5/27, 33 (Cp A); besides, A has wi- ~ wy-, Cp only wi-, in witan etc. inf., pl. pres. ind. & imp. Cp A (34), witodlice M 1/21, 2/5, 6, 19, etc. Cp A (numerous), twigu s. pl. Cp A (2); and A -wi- ~ -wy- (Cp only su-, cf. above) in swigode etc. A (7) ~ swy- A (1). — witum s. pl. L 22/52 (Cp A); gewitan s. pl. L 24/48 (Cp A); swiþan s. J 2/15 (Cp A);

swica s. Mt 27/63 (Cp A); *swica* ð 3 sg. pres. ind. Cp A (4) [cf. *swicion*, -ige Cp A ~ *swy*- A].

O K e n t. [Texts as stated above, § 15; and besides the 395
»Saxon-Kentish» and the »Mercian-Kentish» Charters, SWEET
OET Nos. 21-32, 49-59 (: in the other texts given as Kent-
ish by SWEET OET, there are no words that belong here)].

wudum dat. pl. BGl. (1); *wuton* interj. KGl. (1), KH (1),
cwucra adj. gen. pl. KH (1). — *weada* gen. sg. KChart. 39
(1); *bewiotige* 3 sg. pres. opt. KChart. 41 (1); *gesweotela* ð KGl.
(1) (: may have prim OE -w ĕ -); cf. the »Saxon-Kent-
ish» *wiada*, *wioda* dat. sg. Chart. 28 (2), *uwiotan* s. pl. Chart.
23 (1). — [*cwicera* adj. gen. pl. KH (1)]. — *gewiton* »recesse-
runt» KGl. (1); *gewita* »testis» KGl. (1); *witodlice* »inquam»
KGl. (1); (-)*cwidas*, -um s. pl. KGl. (2), KPs. (1), KH (1).

BÜLBRING El. § 264 reads as follows: »Ums Jahr 700 . . . 396
wird das durch u/â-Umlaut entstehende iu . . . in allen Dia-
lekten ausser dem Kentischen durch Einfluss eines vorange-
henden *w* zu *u*: Im Kentischen erhält sich der Diph-
thong : *wiodu*, *wiadu*, *weadu* »Holz» § 238, *bewiotian*, »beobach-
ten, vollführen», *gesweotolian* »offenbaren» u. s. w.» — The
first part of this rule is too sweeping, inasmuch as the old
diphthongic form was also kept, as a variant, at least in OMerc.
and OWS (: the few diphthongic cases in ONhb may have had
-io- analogically introduced after the change of w ĭ u - > w ũ -
had taken place); the statement in question was however
probably only meant to imply that the change w ĭ u - >
w ũ - c o u l d take place in the dialects concerned. But the
second part of the rule (regarding the Kent. dialect) must,
I think, be considered distinctly incorrect. There does not
seem to be any reasons for looking upon the *wu*-forms
in BGl., KGl., KH as loans from another dialect, espe-
cially since, as far as I can see, there are only t h r e e cer-

tain Kent. cases with the diphthong kept, viz. *weada*, *wiada*, *bewiotige*; the forms *wioda*, *wiutan* in the »Saxon-Kentish» charters may as well be OWS forms, and the form *gesweotolian* quoted by BÜLBRING (: for *gesweotela* ð KGl.) may contain prim. OE *wē-*. The fact that there are no certain cases of a diphthongic form of *wudu* etc. in the other OE dialects, can only prove that the diphthongic variant of this particular word was dropped early in these dialects; but *wudu* etc. is not different, theoretically, from many other words with prim. OE *w + ȳ* liable to u/o-umlaut, of which OAngl. and OWS forms with *-io-*, *-eo-* are frequent (see above; cf. also the non-umlauted OWS *Seahwyda*). Finally, the numerous ME Kent. *-u-* and *-o-* forms (cf. § 287) evidently presuppose an OKent. *wū < wȳu-*; just as the *-u-* and *-o-* forms in the other ME dialects presuppose the same change in ONhb, OMerc., and OWS.

397 The diphthongic forms are rare in late OE texts, not only in the Nhb ones (cf. above), but also in those belonging to the other dialects, where these forms were no doubt gradually ousted by the *wu-* forms and the analogical (in OWS also partly regular, cf. BÜLBR. El. §§ 235, 240 ff.) *wi-* forms; these latter were of course especially apt to increase in number (: as the later development actually proves that they did). As proved by the ME *-eo-* forms of *wite* s., *swike* s. in KGr., AR, Tit. (cf. § 285; cf. also some *we-* forms of *witen* v., above § 288), these diphthongic forms must however have existed still at the end of the OE period in some words, at least in some local dialects.

398 To sum up: all OE dialects have *wu-*, *weo-*, and *wi-* forms of some words or other of this group; and consequently the only available dialect distinctions of a general nature are those produced by the Anglian »smoothing», which — if we disregard isolated cases such as *bisweocun* in VPs., cf. above — led to a constant *-i* in the OAngl. dialect in all the words

liable to its influence. It should also be mentioned, however, that the word »widow» has only *wi-* in ONhb and OMerc. as against *wu-* ~ *wi-* (& *wy-*) in OWS and, judging from the *wo-* form in Ay. (I have not found the word in OKent. texts), *wu-* (~ *wi-*?) in OKent.; and that *s(w)utel* etc. seems to be an exclusively OWS form (as against *sweo-* in OMerc. and OKent.; there are no cases in the ONhb texts).

Consequently, the only ME dialect distinction of a general 399 nature that may be derived from OE, is afforded by such ME forms as derive, phonetically, from OE forms with *wu-* and (where it may be traced) *weo-* (*wio-* etc.) of words liable to Anglian »smoothing». Such ME forms may (practically) be considered as a b s o l u t e criteria of OWS origin; and the few cases I have found — i. e. *w(u)-*forms of *Wirechestre* (: *wuke* etc. does not count, cf. § 290) and one *weo-* form of *swike* s. — occur in fact only in the SW RGl. and the »Saxon-Mercian» Tit. — Further we may perhaps regard such forms of *sutel* adj. etc., *widewe* s., as derive from OE *wu-* as springing o n l y from, respectively, OWS and OWS or OKent. The actually occurring ME cases are *wo-*forms of *widewe* in the Kent. Ay. and *u-*forms of *sutel* etc. in »Saxon-Mercian» and SW texts (and in O, where this *sutel* etc. is probably an OWS form, cf. § 283).

4. Prim. OE *wǣr* + cons.

400

Apart from forms liable to the OAngl. »smoothing», the ONhb texts have practically only *wor-* (cf. above § 297) and the OMerc. texts practically only *weor-* (cf. above § 298) in the words of this group. In the words liable to »smoothing»

the diphthong caused by the breaking of $\ddot{e}$ was removed¹⁾ before the influence of $w-$ could assert itself; the resulting e was kept in OMerc. and (as a rule) in South ONhb, but was generally changed to $\ddot{a}$ (written oe) in North ONhb through the influence of $w-$ (: BÜLBR. El. § 276 f.).

401 As to the OWS and OKent. dialects (in which the «smoothing» was not active), the OKent. texts have exclusively diphthongic forms (*weor-*, and rarely *wior-*, *wear-*) of the words of this group. The OWS texts on the other hand have beside the diphthongic (*weor-*)forms also the monophthongic ones *wor-* and *wur-*²⁾. Both these forms are practically lacking in early OWS: COSIJN records only *wor ðig* (1), which may derive from prim. OE $w\ddot{o}r-$ (cf. § 9, foot-note), and *wur ðne* «dignum» (1), which could be interpreted as an isolated case of $w\ddot{u}r- < w\ddot{y}r-$ (cf. §§ 386, 422); but the existence in Alfred's time of a spoken wur -form seems to be implied (cf. STEVERS Gr. § 72 Anm.) by the form *Geoweorþa* in Orosius (: for *Jugurtha*; probably written for a dictated $-wur\delta a$, perhaps connected by the scribe with the adj. *weorþ*, of which,

¹⁾ Note however Ru¹. *weorc* s. (2 cases) [$\sim werc$ (2), *wærc* (probably = $w\ddot{e}-$) (2)]: from the South? — The form *þweoru* etc. in VPs. (5 cases) is evidently the result of u/o -umlaut of the $\ddot{e}$ due to «smoothing» (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 230 Anm.).

²⁾ Both these forms have no doubt been developed, independently of each other, from the diphthongic form due to the breaking of the $\ddot{e}$ in $w\ddot{e}r-$. Theoretically it would certainly seem the most plausible explanation to derive the *wor*-form from the literary $w\ddot{e}or-$ and the *wur*-form from a pre-literary $w\ddot{u}r-$ ($< w\ddot{y}r-$, cf. BÜLBR. El. § 130 Anm. 1). But the phonology of the extant OE texts — especially the practical absence of monophthongized forms in early OWS, and the total absence of *wur*-forms in ONhb — makes it unlikely that the monophthongization caused by $w-$ in the words of this group can have taken place so early that $w\ddot{u}r-$ had not already passed into $w\ddot{e}or-$; and consequently also the *wur*-form probably derives from the literary $w\ddot{e}or-$. The phonetic possibility of a change of this $w\ddot{e}or- > w\ddot{u}r-$ is proved by the ME Midl. $wur-$ for O Merc. $weor-$.

in this case, he must have known a pronunciation with *wur-*). — In the late OWS MSS. A and Cp of the Gospels *weor-* is still the usual form in MS. A in all words, beside *worc* s. (2), *worpan* v. (5), and *swurd* s. (1), *wurpan* v. (3), *wurðian* v. (2), while MS. Cp generally has *wur-* in all words (except *weorc* s., *cweorn* s.), beside *worc* s. (4), *worpan* v. (4), and *cweorn* s. (2; cf. *cwyrn* above § 310), *weorpan* v. (1), *weorðan* v. (1), *weorc* s. (35). This *weor-* can hardly be regarded as merely a traditional spelling for *wur-* (< *wëor-*), especially as *weor-* is never used incorrectly for original (< prim. OE) *wur-* in these MSS. (cf. TRILSBACH § 9).

These OE dialect distinctions as found in the OE texts 402 quoted, were however to a great extent levelled out in the course of the development into ME. In the first place, a *w-monophthongization* took place, probably already in (latest) OE, also in the Merc. and Kent. dialects; and the only certain dialect distinction left as regards the *w-monophthongized* forms, viz. the total absence of *wur-* forms in ONhb, is of little use in ME, partly because the ME Northern texts as a rule do not distinguish orthographically between OE *wū-* and OE *wō-* (: the absence of rimes to OE *ū* proves little, since there are hardly any rime-words with this vowel available), and partly because OE *wōr-* seems to have occasionally been changed to *wūr-* (probably by way of *wōr-*, cf. § 373) in the ME Northern dialect. Finally the coalescence of OE *eo* and OE *e* in most ME texts largely destroyed the OE dialect difference between *weor-* and *wer-* in words liable to »smoothing.»

Still there remain a few distinctions. ME *w-monophthong-* 403 ized forms of words liable to OAngl. »smoothing» and in texts which distinguish between OE *weor-* and OE *wer-*, also *weor-* forms of the same words, are (except perhaps for *þwert*, cf. §§ 308, 400; the doubtful *weorc* in Ru.¹ may be dis-

regarded) absolute proofs of SW (< OWS) or Kent. origin. Such cases are in fact actually found only in our SW and Kent. ME texts, except for Chr., O and DEn., where they are probably — except perhaps for *þweorrt* etc. in O — due to a Southern influence (cf. §§ 297, 300). — ME *wer*-forms of such words are of use, as a criterion of Anglian origin, only in the few ME texts which make a (comparatively) consistent distinction between OE *weor-* and OE *wer-*; the only cases in point are the *wer*-forms of *weorc* s. (and perhaps *þwert* adv., cf. § 308) in PM(L), KGr., AR, and to some extent, Tit.— Finally, ME forms going back to OE *weor-* can only spring from the OMerc., OWS., and OKent. dialects, but not from ONhb., since the frequent and practically universal use of the *wor*-forms in the ONhb texts would seem to imply that only these forms were known in this dialect. The *wer-* (& *war-* < *wer-*)forms of this kind actually found in our Northern ME texts are consequently not of ONhb origin (cf. § 297).

5. Prim. OE *w* + *ě* liable to u/o-umlaut.

In OE a w-monophthongization appears in the words falling under this heading only in ONhb and OWS texts; the result being in all cases *wo-*, except in the North ONhb Ri., Li., where also *wa-*, *wæ-* (< *wěa-* < *wěo-*) appear under certain conditions (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 270). In these last-mentioned texts (Ri., Li.) the w-monophthongization is practically universal, the only exceptions being — apart from a number of *we-* (& *woe-*)forms (cf. below) — a few cases of *wea-* (< *wěo-*): *compwearoð* (1), *weara* s. pl. (2), *weala* s. (1), *wealigo* adj. pl. (1), *gecweada* inf. (1), (?) *ondswearum*

s., -*swearade*, -*udon* pt. (3); in which moreover *wea-* may be simply a conservative spelling for *wæ-* (cf. GABRIELSON, Anglia Beiblatt XXI p. 210). — In the South ONhb Ru.² on the other hand it is only *wosa* etc. »to be» (31 cases) that shows the effects of a w-monophthongization. A similar scarcity of w-monophthongized forms also characterizes the OWS dialect: COSIJN records *wo*-forms only of *weoruld* (very numerous) and (*ge*)*sweostor* (7) (: both ~ *weo-* but not *we-*, cf. below) and the late OWS MSS. Cp and A of the Gospels have *wo*-forms only of *weoruld* (: MS. A 11, MS. Cp 20, ~ *wer-*, cf. below); besides *sweotol* (cf. below) is, according to SIEVERS Gr. § 72, occasionally found as *swo-* in late OWS texts.

Another dialect distinction, though one of lesser importance, is afforded by the appearance of non-umlauted forms as against diphthongic and w-monophthongized forms. Such non-umlauted forms are especially numerous in the OWS dialect, where the power of the u/o-umlaut is very much circumscribed (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 233 f.): COSIJN records only *we*-forms, except for *weorod* s. (6; ~ *we-*), *weoruld* etc. (4; ~ *wo-*, cf. above), *weolan* s. pl., -*ena* gen. pl. (3; ~ *we-*), (*ge*)*sweostor* (4; ~ *wo-*, cf. above) and if belonging here (and not to B 3) *sweotol* etc. (numerous; ~ *swiotolusð* 1 case); and MSS. Cp & A of the WS Gospels have only *we-*, except for *weoruld* etc. (: MS. A 9, MS. Cp 1; ~ *wo-*, cf. above) and if belonging here *gesweotolað* (MS. A, 1 case). — In the ONhb and OMerc. texts such *we*-forms (and in ONhb also *woe*-forms, cf. § 420) are regular in words liable to »smoothing»; thus -*hwoeg(n)u* Ri., Li., Ru.² (~ Ru.² -*hwogu* (2), perhaps < *wǣ-* in weak stress, cf. LINDELÖF Bo. Btr X § 91 Anm.; ~ -*hweogne* (1), miswritten for -*woe-*?), *wegas*, -*um*, etc. s. pl. »ways» Ri., Li., VPs. ~ *woe-* Ri., Li., Ru.², VPs. (~ the probably analogical *weogum* VPs. (1), *weagas* VPs. (3), *weogas* Ru.¹ (3)); further constantly non-umlauted *s(w)oe*ster

etc. Ri., Li., *swester* etc. Ru.², *swæster* Ru.¹. But besides in these cases *we-* (and in Ri., Li. *woe-*) also occurs not only in *weas* etc. s. pl., *cweðan* etc. v. (which may easily be accounted for as analogical, cf. above § 317), but also in *wela* s. and *welig* adj. Ri., Ru.², VPs., Ru.¹ (: with *we-* < *wel* adv.?), *wesa*, -aþ inf., pl. imp. Ru.¹ (: *we-* < *wes* imp. sg. ?), and even *welure*, -erum s. pl. »labium» VPs. (1; ~ *weo-*), Ru.¹ (1), *werulde* gen. & dat. pl. VPs. (6; ~ numerous *weo-*). — Also in the Kent. dialect, where the u/o-umlaut is best developed (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 230 ff.), there occur a few cases of this kind; I have recorded *werede* »dulcia» KGl. (1), *welere*, -as »labia» KGl. (2), *swetelað* KGl. (1), (?) *werede* »cœtu» KGl. (1), *swæster suna* KChart. (1), *wigas* s. pl. »ways» BGl. (1).

- 406 It is evident that the distribution in OE of such non-umlauted forms can be of little use as a dialect criterion in ME. In the first place these forms were naturally apt to increase in number in the course of time; and further there are but few ME texts that distinguish between OE *w eo-* and OE *we-*. Finally, the distinction otherwise afforded by the OAngl. »smoothing» practically fails us in regard to the words of this group; at any rate the only ME case in point that I have found, *weo3es* pl. in OEH (: if really standing for *w ö-*, cf. §§196, 198) seems better connected with the OMerc. (cf. *weogas* etc. in VPs., Ru.¹) than with the OWS, since the form only appears as *wegas* etc. in pure OWS texts (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 234). — As to the OE w-monophthongized forms, their usefulness as a dialect criterion in ME is lessened 1) by the disappearance of the North ONhb *wa-* (& *wæ-*) forms (: for the ME Northern *wa-* forms see § 319; for *wale* in GE see § 321), 2) by the appearance of a w-monophthongization (probably dating back to late OE) also in the WMidl. and the Kent. dialect (cf. §§ 322, 325), and 3) by the scarcity of ME forms derived from OE w-monophthongized forms (: only

the *wo*-forms of *weorlð* and, probably (cf. §§ 315, 323), of *weored* (for *wole* s. OEH, cf. § 324). But there remains this distinction, that a w-monophthongization is absolutely unknown in the words of this group in the ME EMidl. (< OEMerc.) dialect; further it may perhaps be maintained, in view of the practically universal w-monophthongization in Ri., Li., that the *wer-* (& *war-* < w ě r -) forms found in the ME Northern texts do not derive from the North ONhb but from the South ONhb dialect (: cf. Ru.², above) [or from Scand. forms, cf. § 318].

Besides these absolute criteria there is another of 407
a relative kind, viz. the appearance of *-rd*, *-rdle*, *-rl*,
-rldle < *-rld* in the word *weorlð* (< OE *w(e)oruld* > *w(e)orlð*)
in the ME dialects. I have also considered the correspond-
ing modern dialect forms of this word as recorded by ED
Gr., the material supplied by that work being on this partic-
ular point quite sufficient for my purposes.

werd (*ward*, *word*).

408

werd is especially characteristic of the EMidl. dialect;
it is found in Man. (& r.), NG, PP, GE, Bok., thus lacking
(apart from Chr., where *weorlð* does not occur) only in O,
B. The absence of the form in these two texts, perhaps
also the fact that it is not rimed : *-erd* in GE, seems to in-
dicate that it is due to a comparatively late (probably 13th
century) development. — Outside the EMidl. dialect *werd*
appears, as far as my material goes (cf. also STRATM.-BRAD-
LEY), only in the North¹), and there with far less regularity;

¹) In the Poems of John Audelay (ed. by HALIWELL, Percy Soc. No. 47)
there is one case of *werd* (2/26) beside the more frequent *word*, *world*; both
these latter are sometimes rimed: *lord*, *reward*. *werd* is no doubt an EMidl.
loan; and *word* may be a compromise between the intruding EMidl. *werd*
and the native *world* (: cf. *word* in Prose Ps.).

I have found it only in CM (CE) (& r.). Also in the North it may of course represent an independent development (< South ONhb *weoruld*); but it is quite possible that it is there a loan, perhaps even a literary loan, from the EMidland (cf. §§ 297, 318).

Judging by EDGr., a form with *-rd* does not appear in the present Engl. dialects; but there is no doubt that *werd* was really a spoken form in ME and not merely a spelling used to cover imperfect rimes. This is proved by the frequent occurrence of the form outside the rime (cf. also the case in NG), and further (as already pointed out by BOERNER p. 106) quite conclusively by its place in the alphabetical arrangement of PP (cf. § 84).

The form *wardys* in Bok. (1) has certainly been developed from *wërd* -. — *word*, *-es* in Man. is probably (cf. § 320) due to an alteration of the scribe (for *wer-* in the original), and *word* in Prose Ps. may be due to influence of the EMidl. *werd* (: on the regular WMidl. *world*). The single case of *wordes* in RRPr. (MS. H; MS. C *werld-*) is no doubt due to a scribal error.

409 *wordle* [*werdles* VV (1, scribal error?); *wordly* etc.

wordle, etc., which except for PM (D) appears in all our Kent. texts (also in VV), seems to have been, in ME, an exclusively Southern, and mainly a Kent. form. In the Midl. texts Man. (: *wordles*) and Prose Ps. (: *wordles*) the form has no doubt been introduced by the scribes (cf. §§ 68 f., 137); and *wordly* in LCh. may be a purely Kent. form, though in this case there is also reason to assume a special phonetic development: *rldl* > *rdl*. This may also be the explanation of the isolated *w(e)ordlich(e)* in OEH (1), KGr. (1); the former text has however also one case of *wordle*.

In the modern dialects (: EDGr.), forms with *-rdl* have been found — apart from »ne. Sc. *wardl*, *wordl*»,

and »s. Cum., n. Lin. w ā d l», which, as there are no certain ME cases, may represent a late development — in »sm. Hmp., I. W., me. Wil., e & w. Som., sw. Dev.» In the modern Kent. dialects no cases are found; but our Kent. texts (cf. especially Ay.) make it perfectly evident that the form was particularly frequent in this dialect, and probably also (cf. VV) in the adjoining counties (Surrey, Sussex), though the well-known influence of the London language in the South-East of England has completely extinguished the form in these parts. In the west & middle Southern counties the form may of course be of early origin, though there are only scanty traces of it in our ME texts, or it may be a late independent development; but judging by the ME conditions as indicated by our texts, it seems very likely that the -r d l-form originated in the Kent. dialect, probably (cf. VV) already in the 12th century, and was gradually extended towards the West.

worl.

410

The form *worl* (-e, -es, -ich) which, as the form *wordle* etc., is an exclusively Southern form in ME — the isolated *worls* (1) in Prose Ps. (= »world» sg.) is no doubt miswritten, as also, probably, the isolated *werl* in CM(C) — is of a very sporadic occurrence: KGr. 1, AR 1, OEH 2, RGl. 4, Ay. 4. — In the modern dialects, forms without -d (from earlier *w e r-* or *w o r-*) appear (: EDGr.), not only in »Sc. & Ir.» and »m. Bck», from which parts I have no ME examples (cf. above *wordle* etc.), but also in »nw. Wil., e. Dor., s. Dev.»; and in these (last) counties, immediately adjoining those in which the Southern -r d l-forms are found, the modern dialect form may quite well be a direct continuation of the form found in our texts.

worldle.

411

The form *worldle* Sho. (3), *worldles*, *worldel* Prose Ps. (2, 2) — in both texts evidently due to the common scribe (cf. § 137)

— is probably the result of a contamination of *w o r l d* and *w o r d l*. — In the modern dialects a corresponding form occurs (: EDGr.) only in »Glo.»; if the explanation of its origin given above is correct, its existence in »Glo.» evidently implies an earlier variant *w o r d l* in the same dialect, though it is no longer found there (cf. § 409).

- 412 WRIGHT EDGr. (§ 307) considers the modern dialect form (of *world*) without -d as a case of the common dialectal loss of -d in words like *bald*, *bold*, *build*, *child*, etc. (i. e. long vowel + l d; such forms as »bil», »bal», etc. are probably due to subsequent shortening), and the modern dialect form *w o r d l* etc. (op. cit. § 298) as formed out of *w o r l* by the phonetic development of a -d- between r- and -l (as in corresponding dialect forms of *curls*, *hurl*, etc.). Both these explanations are no doubt theoretically and phonetically plausible; but I do not think that they are historically correct in the case of the Southern forms in question. As to WRIGHT's explanation of the form *w o r l*, there is this objection, that the alleviating of the heavy consonant group -r l d, especially of course before the suffix -l i c h etc., was no doubt felt to be needed — and was in fact, as evidenced by the early spellings, actually carried out — long before the date of the general dropping of -d in the combination long vowel + l d. And the form *w o r d l* is in my opinion better explained as due to a transposition of d — quite a natural change from a phonetic point of view — which originally took place, perhaps, only in inflected forms: *worldes* etc. The absence of analogous cases proves nothing, since there do not seem to exist any other words with the consonant combination -r l d; pt.'s and pp.'s of weak verbs in -r l (after the vowel of the ending -e d had ceased to be pronounced) do not count, because in them the original -r l

was preserved by the influence of the inf. and other forms.¹⁾ On the other hand, in the case of a ME development *w o r l* > *w o r d l* it would be hard to explain why in the Kent. dialect — where the *- r d l*-form was especially, at first perhaps also exclusively, found — the *- r l*-form appears only in the late Ay.

6. Prim. OE *w + ǣ / r + cons.* liable to *i*-umlaut. 413

The main OE dialect difference in words of this group is due to the fact that with the exception of two forms in Ru.¹ [*ewyrðlu* s. »detrimentum» (1), *gewyrfeþ* pl. pres. ind. (2)] which are probably not native Mercian forms, *wyr-* (*wir-*, *wier-*)forms (< *w ǣ r -* > *w ǣ a r -* + *i*-umlaut) occur only in the OWS dialect. In all other dialects the regular development was *w ǣ r -* > *w ǣ a r -* + *i*-umlaut > *wer-* (: the only form in VPs. and the OKent. texts), which however in Ri. and (sometimes) Li. appears as *woer-* (cf. below § 420). Of the remaining forms found in these dialects, *weorfe* »revertetur» Ru.¹ (1), *weorfað* »demoliuntur» Ru.¹ (1) either belong to or have the vowel of the strong verb *hweorfan*; and *weorðað* »affligunt» Ru.² (1) is no doubt miswritten for *werd-* (cf. LINDELÖF, Bo. Btr X § 69 Anm.). As to the occasional *wær*-forms found in Li. [: *wærma* (4), *hwærfa* (1), (?) *hwærflung* (1), *wærc* s. (3)] and in Ru.¹ [: *æfthwærferende* pres. p. (1), *awærgeð* etc. (4)], they are probably — unless the cases in Ru.¹ are mere spellings for *w e r -* — to be derived from non-broken *w ǣ r* + *i*-umlaut (:cf. BÜLBR. El. § 176; GABRIELSON, Anglia Beibl. XXI pp. 209, 216 f.).

In the OWS dialect *wier-* is the usual form in the early 414

¹⁾ The rime *wordle* : *þerled* Sho. was probably originally meant as *werld* : *þerld*, not as *werdl* : *þerdl*.

texts, far more common than its later modifications *wir-* and *wyr-* (: cf. above § 386); besides these there also occur in these texts — apart from the exceptional *gehwearfnesse* »conversionis» (1), *gehweorfað* »vertunt» (2), *gehweorfeð* pp. (1), which may have their diphthongs from *hwearfian* v. and *hweorfan* v. respectively — a few forms with *wer-* : (-)*hwerfan* v. & *hwerfnes* s. (5), *se awergða* (1), *forwernan* (1), *werpe* s. (1). — In the later development the early OWS *wier-* generally changed, directly or (?) by way of *wir-* (cf. above § 386) to *wyr-* (: and *wȳr-* > *wur-* in latest OWS according to BÜLBR. El. § 280 c); thus MSS. Cp & A of the late OWS Gospels have only *wyr-*, except for *wiriað*, -*geað* (2; cf. *wircað*, § 423) (~ *wyrgiað* etc. (16)).

415 It follows that, apart from the ONhb *woer-* & *wær-* and the (doubtful) OAngl. *wær-*-forms — of which there are no certain representatives found in our ME texts : cf. below C 2, and for ME *war-*, *wear-*, *wær-*-forms, § 331 — it is only the OWS forms with *wyr-* (etc.) that are of real use as dialect criteria; and ME forms derived from these *wyr-*-forms (etc.) are to be accepted as absolute criteria of SW (< OWS) origin. The few cases of this kind I have found (cf. § 327 f.) actually occur in the SW RGl. (: only *wurne*, *wurnde*); for the isolated *wirid* in CM (C) see § 41.

416 If the absence of *wer-*-forms in MSS. Cp & A of the Gospels really is in accordance with the late OWS literary language (as the language of these MSS. usually is, cf. BÜLBR. El. § 27), the *wer-*-forms found in early OWS texts must however have been continued in the spoken language, at least in some local OWS dialects (: BÜLBR. El. »Unterdialekte»), since the usual ME SW *wer-*-form evidently presupposes a native late OWS *wer-* (cf. above § 330).

C. Prim. OE *w* + vowel not liable to breaking or 417 u/o-umlaut.

1. Prim. OE *w* $\tilde{i}$.

The words of this group do not afford any reliable dialect criteria in OE: *wi*- & *wy*-forms appear in all dialects, and there are no certain cases of the specially Kent. development of *wy* - > *wē* - [: *swælc*, -*um* KChart. 41 (3), *swelc* KChart. 39 (2), and (-)*hwelc* KChart. 38 (1), 40 (1), no doubt derive from prim. OE $\check{a}$ > $\check{æ}$ + i-umlaut].

Apart from late OWS (for which see below), the *wy*-forms appear in all texts only occasionally; I have noted the following cases:

ONhb: *wyllo*, *wylt*, *wyl* sg. pres. Ru.² (16), *wylla* s. Ru.² (1), *wynster* etc. »sinistra» Ri. (1), Li. (4), Ru.² (3), *wynn* s. »labor», *wynna* v., *wynnung* s. Li. (7), *s(w)yppa*, -*o* s. pl. Ri. (2), *hwyl(e)* »while» (conj., adv., and in one case subst.) Ru.² (6).

OMerc.: (-)*hwylc* Ru.¹ (4) [VPs. has only *wi*-].

Early OWS (i. e. cases recorded by COSIJN): *swyngean* »ictūs» (2), *cwyde* s. (1), *Sealwyda* n. pr. »Selwood» (1; cf. above § 393), *swylcan* (1), *swyge*, -*ean* »silentium» (2). [Occasional *wie*-forms of words of this group probably stand for *wi*-, cf. BÜLBR. E1. § 306 Anm. 1].

OKent. (i. e. texts referred to above § 15): *eghwylce* KChart. 39 (1).

It is possible of course that the cases of *wy* - < $\tilde{w}i$ - were more frequent in the ONhb, OMerc., and OKent. dialects in the late st part of the OE period (i. e. after the time of the existing texts); but this question can hardly be decided, since the ME forms do not throw any light on the matter (cf. below).

In late OWS texts the cases of *wy*- for prim. OE $\tilde{w}i$ - 418

are very frequent; but in such texts *-y-* is also very frequently used in cases where it can be nothing else than a graphic variant of *-i-* (standing for *ī*): cf. e. g. for the WS Gospels, TRILSBACH §§ 7, 16 (& 88). It is quite possible that a spoken *wy*-form of the words of this group was very extensively used in late OWS, and it is further quite possible that a thorough and extensive investigation into the late OWS *-y*-forms would give some positive results in this question [: cf. the consistent use of some *wy*-forms e. g. *swylc*, *hwyder* in MSS. Cp & A of the WS Gospels (see TRILSBACH ll. cc.), which probably implies that a real *y*-vowel was used in these words by the writers of these MSS.]; but until such an investigation has been made, our only reliable proof of a change *w i - > w y -* in late OWS is supplied by the later development of this dialect.

- 419 In the ME dialects the OE *w y -* would regularly give *w i -* in the North and in the E Midl., *w i - ~ w ü -* (and *w ũ - < w ü -*) in the W Midl., *w ü -* (and *w ũ - < w ü -*) in the SW, and *w e -* in the Kent. dialect. Among these ME forms, the *w i*-forms (spelled *wi-*, *wy-*) are of course of no use as a dialect criterion. Further, the usefulness of the *w e*-forms in this respect is lessened by the occasional appearance of *-e-* for earlier *-i-* (= *-ī-*) in all ME dialects, especially in late texts (cf. § 332 ff.); moreover, it may be safely asserted that our texts have no certain cases of Kent. *w e - < w y -* (cf. § 342). There remain the ME *w ü -* (*> w ũ*) forms, which may be regarded as absolute criteria of SW (*<* OWS) or W Midl. (*<* OWMerc.) origin; and if we disregard a few special cases due to special causes [: *u-* & *o*-forms of *wifman*, *-men* (cf. § 343 ff.) and the Sc. *o-* & *u*-forms of *swimmen*, *wimpel*, *-wið* (cf. § 338)], such forms actually appear, as far as my material goes, only in SW, »Saxon-Mercian», and W Midl. texts, or in texts where there is reason to suppose an influence of the SW (*<* OWS) dialect (cf. §§ 339, 342).

2. Prim. OE $w\ddot{e}$, $w\bar{a}$ (> OAngl. & OKent. $w\bar{e}$), 420
 $w\bar{a}$ + i-umlaut.

In OE it is only the ONhb texts — Ri. and, less regularly, Li. and Ru.² (cf. BÜLBR. El. § 276 ff.) — that present forms with *woe-* < *w e -* (: the isolated *awoerpeþ* 3 sg. pres. ind. in Ru.¹ is probably a scribal error for *weor-*). — As proved by ME forms, the influence of *w-* on a following *-e-* must however have been active also outside the North; and it is probable (cf. above § 354) that this South-Humbrian *w*-influence dates back to the (l a t e s t) OE period (: the ME *weor-* & *wor-*forms of OFr. *werre* etc. and the absence of *oe-*forms in late OWS texts are no proofs to the contrary, cf. above § 357, and BÜLBRING, Bo. Btr XV p. III ff.). As far as my material goes, c e r t a i n ME cases of this South-Humbrian *w*-influence appear — apart from *wol* etc., for which see § 355 — only in the »Saxon-Mercian» KGr., AR, Tit. But this fact does not prove anything as to the occurrence of corresponding forms in OE outside the dialect represented in ME by the »Saxon-Mercian» texts.

It follows that the words of this group afford no absolute 421
 dialect criteria in ME. A relative dialect criterion is however afforded by the ME forms with *wö-* < OE *w e -* or *wæ-* (cf. §§ 350-354), which apart from *wol* etc. (see § 355; for *twontiȝ*, *swolȝen* inf., *worre* etc., see §§ 353, 356, 357) occur only in our Scottish texts. The ME *wö-* (< *w e -*)forms (: written *weo-*, *wo-*) on the other hand are hardly of any use even as relative dialect criteria, because an *ö*-vowel is only recognized in the orthography of a few very early texts.

422 3. Prim. OE *w* + *ŭ* / *r* (+ cons.) liable to *i*-umlaut.

In OE the Nhb and Merc. texts have practically only *wyr*-; the Kent. texts exclusively (i. e. as far as my material goes, cf. § 15) *wer*- (< *w y r* -) in the words of this group. As to the early OWS dialect, COSIJN records only *wyr*-forms, except for *awierged* »strangulatus» (3 cases; only form), which is probably due to the influence of the regularly formed *awiergan* »maledicere» (cf. above §§ 386, 413 f., and COSIJN § 51). In late OWS, *w ȳ r*- could be changed into *w ŭ r*- (sometimes written *weor*-, cf. BÜLBR. El. § 280 Anm.), though the old *w y r*-form was probably also kept to a large extent : thus MS. A of the OWS Gospels has only *wyr*- (: except for *wircað*, see below) — while MS. Cp beside numerous *wyr*- (and the remarkable *andwerde*, -on pt. Mt 26/66, 27/14) has also a few cases of *wur*- : *andwurde* pt. (3), *wurt-ruman* (1), *awurtwalion*, -*walod* (2).

423 *wyrcean* etc. v. is, as far as it derives from prim. OE *w ŭ r* + *i*-umlaut (cf. § 7), quite in accordance with the other words of this group; except for the isolated *wircað* in MS. A of the OWS Gospels (Mt 12/33; as against *wyrcean* etc., 67 cases). This form may of course be a scribal error for *wyr*-; but it is quite possible that it was really meant to contain an *i*-vowel, which may derive — as well as the -*i*- of the similar form *wirgeað* »maledixerint» (Mt 5/11) in the same MS. (cf. also *wiriað* L 6/28 in MS. Cp) — either from earlier *w i e r*- (cf. OAngl. *wircan*) or more probably perhaps (as supposed by TRILSBACH §§ 98, 99; cf. also BÜLBR. El. § 307 Anm. 1) from earlier *w y r*- (> *w i r*- / palatal cons.).

424 The OE dialect distinctions as recorded above were to a great extent blotted out in the course of the later development. The ONhb and OMerc. *w ȳ r*- could, it seems, be developed to *w ŭ r*-, a change which probably dates back to the end of the OE period (cf. § 361 f.); and the alternative

Northern and (E)Midl. ME *wir* - < *wyr* - (: in accordance with the general change of ONhb and OEmerc. *y* > ME *i*) in many cases (especially in late texts) appears (occasionally) as *wer*-. — It follows that ME forms derived from OE *wur*- can belong to the Northern and Midl. (< OAngl.) as well as to the SW (< OWS) dialect; but such forms cannot be native in the Kent. dialect (cf. §§ 368, 422), where a change of *wȳr* - > *wur*- does not seem to have taken place (: probably because the OKent. *ȳ* in general was already in the course of changing into *ē* when the *w*-influence in the combination *wȳr*- would have begun). On the other hand, the ME *wer*-form is valid as an *absolute* criterion of the Kent. dialect in texts where *wer*- cannot be supposed to stand for earlier ME *wir*- (= *wīr* -). Further, if we disregard such late OWS *i*-forms as those referred to above § 389, ME *wir*- (& *wyr*-)forms may, perhaps with the exception of *wurchen* v. (cf. above) and similar words, be safely accepted as belonging to the Northern and Midl. (< OAngl.) dialects; and except for *wirsum* in Tit. (cf. § 366) (and *wirche* in ON, cf. § 367) these *wir*- (& *wyr*-)forms only occur in our Northern and Midl. texts. Finally, ME *wür*-forms (: derived directly from OE *wyr* -, not from *wur* - < *wȳr* -) would be an *absolute* criterion of SW (< OWS) or W Midl. (< OWMerc.) origin; but since neither the orthography nor the rimes of our ME texts are conclusive on this point, this criterion is, as far as my material goes, of no practical use.

4. Prim. OE *wör* + cons.

425

The usual form of the words of this group is *wor*- in all OE dialects; only in late OWS texts occurs occasionally the variant *wur*-, which BULBR. El. § 281 regards as due to a

late OWS *w*-influence (< *w ǝ r* -). BÜLBRING l. c. adduces as examples of this development the forms *wurd* s., *wurdlīan* v., *wurms* ~ *wurms* s.; but the last two of these forms may quite well derive from an older *w ǝ r* - (cf. C3): *wurdlīan* may trace back to Teut. **wor dilōjan* (~ **wor dālōjan* > OE *wordlīan*; cf. KLUGE, *Vorgeschichte* § 42, 3), or it may be due to an *analogical* early OWS *w ǝ r* - (: from *andwyrden* v., *gewyrđ*, -e s., etc.); and the actually recorded OE variant *wyrms* etc. is proved by ME *wir*-forms (cf. §§ 358, 361, 366) to have been a spoken *wyr*-form and not a spelling for *w ǝ r* -, as suggested by BÜLBR. El. § 524 (by the reference to El. § 268 Anm. 1).

- 426 In the late OWS MSS. Cp and B of the Gospels, which are the principal (the only?) sources of OE forms with *wur*- for earlier *wor*-, I have found the following cases (: in MS. A there are none, except for *wurdon* s. pl. Mk 10/24, which is no doubt miswritten for *wordum* (or *-un*), the form of MSS. Cp & B): *wurđ*, -e s. Mt 13/19, 20, 21, 22, 22, 23, 15/12 (: Cp alone); 24/35 (: B alone); 26/75, 28/15 (Cp & B); *gewurden*, -yn pp. Mt 21/42, 23/15 (B); 22/2 (Cp); 27/45 (Cp & B); *wurhton* pl. pt. Mt 12/14 (B). Of these cases, *wurhton* is easily explained away as going back to an *analogical w ǝ r* - (cf. *forwyrhtne* pp. Mt 27/5 (Cp)); *gewurden* etc. may have the vowel of pl. pt. (cf. the ME SW cases §§ 371, 379); and even the *wur*-form of *word* might spring from a *w ǝ r* - due to some kind of analogy (e. g. with *andwyrđ* s., etc.). It should be observed, however, that these *wur*-cases occur only in Mt (never in the other Gospels); which fact evidently implies that the common source of MSS. Cp and B (: probably the original MS., cf. SKEAT, Pref. to St. Luke p. VIII) also had these forms (probably even in greater numbers) and had them only (or mainly) in Mt. It is quite possible that the scribe who wrote this (original) MS. used such *wur*-forms (: in Mt) to an extent that would completely justify the

theory of a change of $w\ddot{o}r - > w\ddot{u}r$ in his dialect, though for some reason or other, if he also wrote the other Gospels, he intentionally avoided such forms in these parts of his work. But in any case, since the *wur*-forms cannot with certainty be said to belong to the language of the scribes of MSS. Cp & B — who may have copied them all off their common source — there is hardly sufficient reason for assuming a (more or less) general change of $w\ddot{o}r / cons. > w\ddot{u}r$ in the late OWS literary language.

In ME, as far as my material goes, there are in no dialect 427 any forms that must or (in my opinion) should be explained on the basis of an OE change $w\ddot{o}r - / cons. > w\ddot{u}r -$; the ME $w\ddot{u}r$ -forms (: of *word*, *worden* pp., *worpen* pp.) actually proved by the spelling *wur*- (& *wour*-) — the rimes are of little importance; cf. however the rime to *bourd* in DE_n. and the absence of rimes *word* : -ord in RGl. — may all be plausibly accounted for otherwise (cf. § 373 ff.). Consequently these ME $w\ddot{u}r$ -forms cannot be used as absolute dialect criteria; especially since such forms of *word* (: the pp:s *wurden*, *wurpen* probably derive, analogically, from OE *wur*-, cf. §§ 375, 379) are (practically, cf. 378) lacking in our early SW and »Saxon-Mercian» texts. Even as a relative ME dialect criterion $w\ddot{u}r$ -forms of *word* are of little use; because it is impossible to tell the actual distribution of such forms in the ME dialects. Judging by the EMidl. texts, this $w\ddot{u}r$ -form is of comparatively late ME origin; and consequently it may be disguised under the ambiguous *wor*-form in late SW and Kent. texts, even though it is practically unknown to our early SW texts and to the »mixed» VV (: which texts distinguish more or less consistently between (w) $\ddot{u}$ - and (w) $\ddot{o}$ -).

